INSTITUTE OF HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY
ACADEMIA SINICA

Special Publications No. 91

A STUDY OF THE OLD TIBETAN INSCRIPTIONS

by

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Nankang, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC
1987

CHAPTER 1

THE LINGUISTIC AND HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE OLD TIBETAN INSCRIPTIONS

1.1 Linguistic Background -- The Tibetan Language. The Tibetan language comprises a number of rather closely related modern dialects spoken in Tibet and adjacent areas, a classical literary language with a history of more than a millennium, and a modern literary language which has been emerging during the last three or four decades. Tibetan constitutes one of the major branches of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. It seems to be most closely related to certain ancient and modern Himalayan languages and to tribal languages of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, but the exact nature of these relationships remains to be systematically determined. Indigenous historical tradition holds that Tibetan was reduced to writing by Thon-mi Sambhota during the reign of King Srong-brtsan-sgam-po (died A.D. 649).[1] Chinese records suggest that writing was in use in Tibet no later than 648 (Uray 1955:106), and the Tun-huang Annals for the year 655 make specific reference to its use in the recording of laws (Bacot 1940-6:13,31). Thus, that the Tibetan script was developed during the first half of the seventh century seems beyond doubt. The earliest datable texts in this script are the Zhol Inscriptions (Text II,

dated to shortly after 763).[2] During the reign of King Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (reigned 815-838) the script underwent a reform which codified the spelling conventions observed from that day to this.[3] Following the suggestion of Miller (1968:147, n. 1), the language of texts written between the invention of the script and the spelling reform will be called "Old Tibetan" (OT). We shall call the literary language of later times "Written Tibetan" (WT). In addition to the inscriptions under study here, OT is also represented in the far more extensive text materials discovered in the Tun-huang cave library and at various Central Asian archeological sites. These include historical and folk-literary texts, government and administrative documents, medical works, pre-Buddhist religious materials, the earliest Tibetan translations from the Buddhist canon, etc., etc. The language of the OT inscriptions must be studied in concert with that of these non-inscriptional materials, many of which have only begun to be analyzed and understood.

1.2 Historical Background

1.2.1 The Tibetan Monarchy. In the period immediately preceding that with which we are concerned the people of central Tibet lived in clans and tribal units which were gradually combining into larger confederations. These groups were controlled by chiefs or princelings whose power was centered in fortified redoubts. Among the more powerful of these individuals were the princes of Yarlung (Yar-lung, Yarklungs) who, during the late sixth and early

seventh centuries, were able to gain supremacy over the chiefs of the Gtsang-po River valley and then subjugate the more far-flung groups and confederations of the Tibetan plateau. The conquered leaders united under the new dynasty formed a powerful and restless nobility who often viewed the reigning king as primus inter pares and exercised varying degrees of political control over him by serving as blon-chen "great ministers" or by obtaining the position of zhang "maternal uncle" through matrimonial alliances with the royal house (Tucci 1955:197; Hoffmann 1976:40; Richardson 1977, passim). Both the Yarlung kings and the noble clans claimed divine origins (Tucci 1955:202). Royal assertions of supernatural descent are manifested in a number of titles and epithets in the inscriptions, e.g. lha "god", 'phrul-gyi lha "God Incarnate" or "God of Supernatural Qualities",[4] lha-sras "Son of the Gods", and gnam-lhab-kyi rgyal-po "King of Broad Heaven"; and direct reference is sometimes made to the origin myth of the royal house, e.g. in Text VI, opening lines. In Text IV a member of the noble house of Kar-po in Rkong recounts this dynastic myth in more detail and claims common descent from the legendary royal ancestor, Nya-khri Btsan-po.

The nobility bound themselves to the royal house through oaths of fealty, examples of which are preserved in the Tun-huang Chronicle (see, for example, Bacot 1940-6:110, 146-7). The kings, for their part, rewarded their vassals' loyalty with grants to them and their posterity, usually including caveats outlining what steps would be taken in the

event that one or more of the heirs became disloyal (Texts II and IV). Later in the royal period such grants were also made to celibate Buddhist monk-officials; and then, as in Text VII, it was necessary to specify that the benefits of the grants should devolve upon the heirs of the nearest lay relatives of the grantees.

Datable Tibetan history begins with Srong-brtsan-sgam-po, one of the greatest Yarlung kings, under whom the power of the dynasty was consolidated and Tibet became a potent force in Central Asia. The reigns of the next three kings, Mang-slon-mang-rtsan, Khri-'dus-srong, and Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan, have been characterized as "the period of the regency" because these rulers were minors when their fathers died, and the great ministers who acted as regents were pre-eminent in affairs of state (Hoffmann 1976:42-3). The Tun-huang Annals are defective for the year of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan's death (754), but they do mention various activities of two important ministers, 'Bal Ldong-ts(h)ab and Lang Myes-zigs (744,746,747); and they record that 'Bal and Lang were punished in the aftermath of some sort of disturbance (755, 756; cf. also the Chronicle, Bacot 1940-6:102, 132).[5] The Zhol Inscriptions (Text II) state that 'Bal and Lang actually murdered the king and then endangered the life of his successor, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan. Later their disloyalty was discovered and punished as a result of the efforts of Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-khong, in whose honor the Zhol pillar was erected. The text goes on to outline Stag-sgra Klu-khong's further contributions to the government and

particularly the foreign policy of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan.[6] This king rivaled Srong-brtsan-sgam-po in greatness, and enthusiastic praise for his internal policies and foreign conquests rings in the Inscription at 'Phyong-rgyas Bridge (Text V). Unfortunately, however, his last years were marred by troubles; and it is possible that his death was not from natural causes (Haarh 1960:122-125; Hoffmann 1976: 45). In fact, these circumstances and the identities and chronology of his immediate successors form one of the most vexing tangles in the history of the royal period.[7] The inscriptions at Zhwa'i Lha-kang (Text VII) indicate that there were troubles between Khri-srong-lde-brtsan and one of his elder sons and that these problems culminated in very difficult circumstances during the minority of the eventual successor, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan. As described in the text, the new king's guardian and guide during these trying years was a Buddhist monk, Myang Ting-nge-'dzin, who in later times became a valued advisor and minister. This suggests a comparison with the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, where in Text II the position of loyal minister and helper was held by Stag-sgra Klu-khong, a member of the traditional nobility. Now, in the time of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, we see a monk in this role. Also of interest here is a passage in Text VII (W. 56-58) where it is pointedly stated that Myang's contributions are in no way to be considered inferior to those of the powerful Dba's family of conservative lay ministers. All this brings to mind the often noted fact that the Yarlung kings saw in Buddhism a force which could

be marshalled in their struggles with the entrenched and ever-fractious nobility (Tucci 1955:197). One result of this strategy would have been the intrusion of monks into the upper levels of civil administration, where the nobility had been accustomed to exercise paramount influence (Richardson 1952:136-137; Snellgrove and Richardson 1968:94). The friction generated by the activities of the government bureaucracy becomes apparent in Text IV, where the noble house of Kar-po recounts its own and the royal origin myth, rooted in traditional rather than Buddhist beliefs, and complains of infringement on its prerogatives by royal officials.

Another monk-official who was very influential in the time of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan was Bran-ka Dpal-gyi-yon-tan. During the reign of the next king, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, who was heavily under the influence of the Buddhist clergy, Dpal-gyi-yon-tan became one of the most powerful officials in Tibet. This is revealed by the rank and titles ascribed to him in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821-822 (Text I) and by the prominent position his name occupies in the list of Tibetan signatories to the treaty. Eventually the anger and jealousy engendered among the lay ministers and nobility exploded in a revolt in which Dpal-gyi-yon-tan was disgraced and executed and Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan was assassinated. These events were followed by the brief reign of Glang-dar-ma, during which a vehement reaction against Buddhism set in. The assassination of this king then brought the dynasty to an end.

1.2.2 Religion in the Royal Period. Direct views of the indigenous pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet are afforded by certain OT texts and fragments, but these sources are necessarily very difficult to interpret. Some of the old beliefs survive in the modern folk religion (called mi-chos "the religion of men") and many others have been incorporated into the now highly systematized Bon religion. Recent research has shown that the earlier Tibetological practice of identifying the entire body of pre-Buddhist beliefs as "Bon" is an over-simplification (Stein 1981b:144; Uray 1979a:298, especially note 64 for detailed references to earlier studies). The OT word for the indigenous religion was gtsug-lag, but this was a broad term which also encompassed other concepts, such as the art of government, and later even non-native bodies of thought and tradition (Stein 1981b:169, especially notes 206 and 207 for further references).

The ancient religious tradition was animistic and populated the sky, air, and earth with supernatural beings. The vital principle or animist soul was called bla. Human misfortunes and natural disasters were attributed to the wrath of hostile gods and spirits, and much religious activity centered around identifying and placating the offended entities. Identification could be accomplished by divination techniques such as the casting of lots (mo) or interpretation of omens (ltas), usually dream omens (rmyi-ltas), or through trances wherein a shaman's soul was projected into the supernatural realms to search out the source of

mischief. Propitiation was accomplished by animal and sometimes human sacrifices; and the conscientious performance of such ceremonies at regular intervals could be expected to forestall future troubles. Sacrifices were also performed to seal oaths, for the frequent oath-swearing of the early Tibetans was an essentially religious act in which the gods were invoked as witnesses.

An important aspect of the indigenous religion was the belief in the divine origin of the kings. As mentioned in section 1.2.1 their titles and epithets identified them as magically changed forms or "sons" of the lha, the gods on high; and in Text IV the legendary ancestor of the royal house is portrayed as a phywa, a deity which dwelt in one of the storeys of the sky. This belief in the divine nature and origins of the royal house accounts for the need in the ancient mythology to offer rationalizations for the deaths of the kings and the presence of their corpses on earth; and it probably also underlies the great concern of the traditional religion with the elaborate obsequies surrounding royal burials.

Religious history in the royal period is in great part an account of the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet and of its contacts, interplay, and conflicts with indigenous beliefs. It is possible that the Tibetans were aware of Buddhism before the time of Srong-brtsan-sgam-po (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968:74; Hoffmann 1976:126), but royal patronage of the new religion did not begin until the reign of this king, who, according to the Skar-cung Inscription (Text

IX), established a chapel at his capital of Ra-sa (later Lhasa). The same text reports further royal support in the time of Khri-'dus-srong. Traditional Buddhist histories attached undue significance to this early royal interest in Buddhism, leading Tucci to caution (1955:197): "That the first Tibetan kings were not hostile to Buddhism is probable; but that they all embraced it with zeal is dubious." Text IX indicates continued royal patronage during the long reign of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan, but in the later years of this king a reaction set in amongst the aristocracy, and the royal edicts preserved in Dpa'-po Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba's Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (completed 1564) reveal that the practice of Buddhism was actually proscribed by law during the minority of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (Tucci 1950:47, 52; 98, 101; Richardson 1980:66, 70).

The fortunes of the foreign faith changed again with the accession of the new king, for Khri-srong-lde-grtsan was a firm supporter of Buddhism, who eventually declared it the state religion of Tibet (Tucci 1950:49-50, 100; Richardson 1980:68, 71-72). It was also during this reign that the great temple of Bsam-yas was founded, as celebrated in Text III and reflected in the Bsam-yas Bell Inscription (Text X). However, the king was not heavy-handed or militant in his furtherance of the Buddhist cause, and his caution and restraint are reflected in the wording of the Inscription at 'Phyong-rgyas Bridge (Text V). In this text the king's accomplishments are praised in primarily pre-Buddhist terms, but the traditional wording of these encomia is nonetheless

carefully and subtly interlarded with Buddhist ideas and terminology.

During the reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan Buddhism became a force to be reckoned with in the political arena. As already mentioned, Text VII indicates that the monk Myang Ting-nge-'dzin was very close to the king and had played an active role in the consolidation of his power. The powerful monk, Bran-ka Dpal-gyi-yon-tan, who is mentioned so prominently in Text I, also attained eminence during this period. Khri-lde-srong-brtsan's devotion to Buddhism is best illustrated in the inscription celebrating the founding of the chapel at Skar-cung (Text IX), which portrays the king's reign as a victorious culmination of royal patronage of Buddhism in Tibet. In passing we may also mention the short Khra-'brug Bell Inscription (Text XI) which is also indicative of royal religious devotion during this period. It is clear, however, that the influence of the old religion was still present, especially among the aristocracy. The Rkong-po Inscription (Text IV), which recounts the royal origin myth and states the complaint of the noble house of Kar-po against the state bureaucracy, is couched entirely in traditional language and shows no Buddhist influence at all. Also noteworthy is Khri-lde-srong-brtsan's funerary inscription (Text VI). As noted by Tucci (1950:41) the language of this text is predominantly pre-Buddhist and may suggest that royal burials were still primarily the domain of the indigenous religion and its priesthood.[8]

Khri-lde-srong-brtsan was followed by Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, whose devotion to Buddhism and the Buddhist clergy is reported to have bordered on obsequiousness. His religious attitudes are reflected in the Mtshur-phu Inscription (Text VIII), in which a Buddhist chapel was endowed by the grateful subject, Stag-bzang Nya-sto, who had enjoyed the king's favor. Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan's strong reliance on clerical bureaucracy is reflected in Text I. It would ultimately lead to the king's murder at the hands of the jealous lay nobility and to the fierce persecutions of Buddhism during the reign of Glang-dar-ma.

The rivalry between Buddhism and the indigenous religion during the royal period was in great part an outgrowth of political discord, with the kings wielding the new religion as a weapon in their struggle for dominance over the non-Buddhist nobility. But the royal house was equally adept at using the pre-Buddhist beliefs to its advantage. For example, the kings never abandoned their claims to supernatural origin, and even the pious Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan retained his divine titles and epithets (Texts I and VIII). The old practice of swearing by oath could be used to bind the royal heirs and the nobility itself to the defense of the new religion, with Buddhist deities invoked as witnesses in place of the old gods (Texts III and IX) or even together with them (as in the royal edicts). Because the enemies of Buddhism had used divination and omen interpretation as weapons against the new religion, the kings were at pains to deny the validity of these attacks (Text IX), but they were

nonetheless quite capable of citing calamities and ill omens as justification for the abrogation of anti-Buddhist laws (e.g. in the Second Edict of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan; see Tucci 1950:47-48, 98 and Richardson 1980:67,70). Thus it was that the lines between the indigenous and the new beliefs could be drawn more or less clearly depending on the political exigencies of the time.

1.2.3 Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Royal Period. The political consolidation of the Yarlung dynasty led to the formation of an efficiently organized state with unprecedented military power. Under Srong-brtsan-sgam-po and his talented minister, Mgar Stong-brtsan Yul-bzung, the full weight of Tibet's expanding influence pressed upon her neighbors and would continue to be felt by them throughout the royal period.[9] Contacts and conflicts with various contiguous peoples, known from other historical sources,[10] are mentioned briefly in Text I and again in fragmentary passages of Text VI; but it is relations with China which are by far best reflected in the inscriptional texts. This material begins in Text I (East Face) with the friendly relations between Srong-brtsan-sgam-po and the T'ang emperor, T'ai-tsung 太宗 (r. 627-649), when the famous princess, Wen-ch'eng kung-chu 文成公主, was sent to be consort of the Tibetan king. Subsequently, relations between the two states deteriorated into warfare; but Text I indicates that peace was reestablished in the time of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan and the Chinese emperor, Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (r. 713-756),

who again sent the Tibetan ruler a consort, Chin-ch'eng kung-chu 金城公主. However, the text then adds that amicable relations were disturbed by border incidents.

Moving on to Khri-srong-lde-brtsan's time we must turn to Text II. Here we learn that, using the strategy developed by Stag-sgra Klu-khong, the Tibetans took advantage of internal disorders in China to attack the Chinese-held areas of Central Asia and successfully isolate their allies, the 'A-zha (i.e. the T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾) population around Ling-chou 靈州 (the area of Ling-wu 靈武 in modern Ning-hsia Province). Subsequently an attack led by Stag-sgra Klu-khong was launched against China proper, resulting in the capture and brief occupation of the T'ang capital, Ch'ang-an 長安, in 763.[11]

Returning to Text I we find that in the time of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan efforts of some sort were made to establish peaceful relations with the Chinese, apparently with indifferent success. However, comparing Text VI (lines 22-26, according to Richardson's restored version) it would seem that after considerable fighting some sort of accord was actually achieved before the death of this king.

By the reign of Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan both sides were exhausted from years of warfare, and their mutual need for peace led to the signing of the great treaty of 821-822 which forms the body of Text I. With the assassination of Glang-dar-ma in 842 the centralized Tibetan state disintegrated into warring factions, and the country's role as an important diplomatic and military power came to an end.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. For a listing of the historical Tibetan kings, see Table I.

2. Our numbering of the Old Tibetan inscriptions is according to their order of occurrence in Part II. For a chronological listing of the texts, see Table II.

3. The reform is dated to the period 826-827 by Huang (1981:203 and 232, n. 3) and Wang (1982:9 and 13, n. 23). Cf. also Lo and An (1981).

4. On the translations of this term, see the note to Text I W. 2.

5. For a special study of this period, see Beckwith (1983).

6. Stag-sgra Klu-khong's career has been discussed in Li (1983).

7. The complex events of this time are reviewed in detail by Haarh (1960). Cf. also Tucci (1950:19-24) and Richardson (1952-3:I:138-149).

8. It was formerly believed that Text VI contained no references to Buddhism at all; but the recent discovery of a previously unknown portion of the inscription shows this assumption to be false. See the introduction to Chapter 8 for further discussion.

9. For a study of Mgar and his clan, see Li (1981).

10. For a thorough listing and discussion of these sources, see Uray (1979a) and Beckwith (1979).

11. For a discussion of these events, see Li (1956b) and (1983).

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY OF THE OLD TIBETAN INSCRIPTIONS

In this chapter we shall briefly review the development of OT inscriptional studies and describe the goals of the present work. More comprehensive bibliographic references to studies of particular inscriptional texts are given in the individual chapters of Part II.

The inscriptions of the royal period were all but forgotten by traditional Tibetan scholars and historians. Several of the texts are quoted in the aforementioned Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, who had a particular interest in early documents as primary source materials.[1] Copies of six inscriptions are included in a recently discovered collection said to have belonged to the eighteenth century scholar and historian, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu.[2] The text of the Inscription at 'Phyong-rgyas Bridge (Text V) is in fact known only from this collection. Some of the more famous inscribed monuments have been alluded to in other sources,[3] but little or no notice is taken there of the texts themselves.

The systematic study of the inscriptions may be said to have begun with Bushell (1880) in which the Tibetan/Chinese bilingual portions of Text I are treated in an appendix to a longer work on early Tibetan history. Work on Text I

progressed a stage further with the virtually simultaneous appearance of three more studies, i.e. Francke (1909-10), Lo (1909), and Waddell (1909-11); and these have been followed by many more in the intervening decades. Indeed, Text I has been by far the most intensively studied of all the inscriptions. Waddell's work also dealt with Text II and was in fact the only pre-World War II study devoted to inscriptions other than Text I. This virtually exclusive concern with the Treaty Inscription came to an end in the post-war years with Richardson's 1949 article on Texts III, VIII, and IX, closely followed by Tucci (1950), who dealt with Texts III, VI, VIII, and X. Throughout the 1950's Richardson continued his work on the inscriptions, with a long monograph (1952) devoted to Texts I and II and shorter articles dealing with other texts. In 1956 Li published an extensive study of Text I which innovated by giving critical notes comparing the sometimes rather different readings suggested by earlier investigators and including a complete syllabic index to the texts. A major development in the 1960's was Richardson's discovery of the collection of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu. In addition to his biographical sketch of this person, Richardson published a new series of articles on the inscriptions represented in the collection (1964,1969b,1972, 1973,1978). On the basis of the newly recovered versions he arrived at revised readings for the texts, which then served as the basis for new studies and translations. Of particular interest was the copy of Text V (Richardson 1964). The pillar on which this text was inscribed had been examined in

situ by Tucci and pronounced unreadable due to damage to the stone (1950:42). The new copy, dating from a much earlier time, restores the text to us, albeit in a form which may have suffered certain scribal changes (Richardson 1964:2-4).

In 1982 appeared Wang Yao's *T'u-fan* (or *T'u-po*) *chin-shih-lu* 吐蕃金石錄, which was the first work devoted to the entire corpus of inscriptions (exclusive of Text V, which was not available to the author). It is a useful and interesting compendium, in which the texts are given in transcription and transliteration, followed by translation and notes. The annotations often draw on Chinese historical sources and devote particular attention to Chinese proper and place names, Sino-Tibetan relations, etc. The author enjoyed a unique advantage in having fairly continuous access to many of the original inscriptions during a period when Tibetologists outside China were forced to work exclusively with eye-copies and facsimiles. It is thus somewhat disappointing that the texts are not accompanied by any critical apparatus or discussion of how the readings were arrived at. In some cases they may derive from the author's own observations of the inscribed artifacts, while in others they seem to be based on the published readings of others. One can seldom be certain which is the case.

Wang's collection was followed in 1985 by that of Richardson, entitled *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*. This may be viewed as the culmination of the author's forty years of research and publication on the inscriptions. Earlier readings and translations are corrected and updated,

with references to recent scholarship on a number of historical and philological questions. Textual notes are very few and translation notes are also rather scant. Readers are referred to Richardson's earlier studies for more detailed treatment of such matters. And, indeed, those who have all Richardson's earlier works can trace very clearly the development of his current text versions and interpretations, an exercise which may in certain respects serve as an introduction to the history of OT studies during the last four decades. But those who are new to the field or do not have access to Richardson's sometimes far-flung writings may find the going tough and may not always understand how his readings and interpretations have arisen and how they relate to those suggested by others. The texts are given in transcription (but not transliteration), and great care is taken to reproduce the punctuation of the originals. The format, with text and translation on facing pages, is particularly handy. A most valuable part of the book is the "Vocabulary" (pp. 160-178) which lists most morphemes in the texts exclusive of grammatical particles and function words, certain numerals, etc. These entries, together with a number of related compounds and phrases, are supplied with references to all or many of their occurrences in the texts. There is also an index of proper nouns.

The works of Wang and Richardson constitute major advances in the field of OT epigraphy; and, in view of the scope and quality of their contributions, it may well be asked whether publication of yet another collection of the

texts is justified. We believe that it is, for a number of reasons. First of all, while Wang and Richardson are Tibetologists and approach the material from positions within their discipline, we are primarily Sinologists with special interests in Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan linguistics. Our background and orientations have led us to viewpoints and sometimes to solutions which differ from those of our predecessors and which we hope will throw new light on the texts. Secondly, we feel that the study of the inscriptions might benefit from a presentation of the material which is directed towards those who wish an introduction to the field rather than towards specialists who are thoroughly conversant with it. We feel that in certain ways the collections of Wang and Richardson do not meet this need, and by addressing it ourselves we hope to complement their work. Thirdly, as linguists we are particularly interested in the syllabic inventory of the inscriptional language and of OT generally. We feel that complete concordances should be compiled for all OT texts, in which every occurrence of each syllable is accounted for. Only when this is done can comprehensive grammatical studies and descriptions be undertaken. We offer the glossary of the present work as a step towards this goal, while at the same time hoping that it will serve as an aid in reading the texts themselves. Finally, we add here three recently discovered texts and fragments (Text VI, lines 47-59; Text XIII; and Text XIV) which do not appear in our predecessors' works but which we feel are worthy of inclusion in the general corpus of inscriptions. In

conclusion, we are convinced that the field of OT inscriptional studies is one in which there cannot be too much work or too many books. It is with this conviction that the present compendium is added to those of our predecessors.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. These quotes are discussed by Richardson (1967b: 5-6).

2. See Richardson (1967b) for an account of this discovery and an appraisal of the life of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu.

3. For examples, see Tucci (1950:27) and Richardson (1967b:5).

Table I: Tibetan Kings of the Historical Period

Historical sources yield many variant forms for the names of the Tibetan kings. This table presents a selection of the Tibetan and Chinese names of the kings, with MC transcriptions for the Chinese forms. For a complete listing of the variant forms, with detailed references to all Tibetan and Chinese sources, see Haarh (1969:52-65). Cf. also Wang (1982:199-200).

	Regal Name/Dates	Alternate Names and Spellings, Honorific Names, etc.	Chinese Names
1.	Khri-srong-brtsan-sgam-po (died 649)	Srong-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-srong-brtsan	CTS,HTS,TCTC: 弃(棄)宗弄讚(贊) khi- tsuong lung- tsân- Ts'e-fu: 器宗弄讚, 器宋弄贊 khji- tsuong lung- tsân- ----- suong- ----- TT,WHTK: 弃蘇農贊 khi- suo nuong tsân- HTS: 棄蘇農 khi- suo nuong

2.	Gung-srong-gung-btsan		
3.	Khri-mang-slon-mang-rtsan (r. 649-676)	Mang-srong-mang-btsan	TT: 乞黎拔布,乞梨拔布 khjət liei bwât (~bwăt) puo- ---- lji --------
4.	Khri-'dus-srong (r. 676-704)	'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje, 'Du-srong Mang-po-rje	TT: 乞黎弩悉籠 khjət lji nuo: sjet lung CTS,HTS,TC,TCTC,Ts'e-fu: 器弩悉弄 khji- nuo: sjet lung-
5.	Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (r. 704-754)	Khri-lde-gtsug-btsan, Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan, Mes-ag-tshoms, Mes-ag-tshom	CTS,HTS,Ts'e-fu, WHTK: 棄隸蹜(縮)贊 khi- liei- sjuk tsân-
6.	Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (r. 755-797)	Khri-srong-lde-btsan	TT: 乞犂悉籠納贊 khjət liei (~lji) sjet lung nập tsân-

	(r. 755-797)		tsân-
			CTS,TC: 乞黎蘇籠獵贊 khjət liei suo lung ljäp tsân- TCTC,Ts'e-fu: 娑悉籠獵(臘)贊 sâ sjet lung ljäp (lâp) tsân- HTS,TCTC: 乞立贊 khjət ljəp tsân-
7.	Mu-ne-brtsan-po (r. 797-799 ?)	Mu-ne-btsan-po	
8.	Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (r. 799 ?-815)	Khri-lde-srong-btsan, Lde-srong, Sad-na-legs, Sad-na-legs mjing-yon	
9.	Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (r. 815-838)	Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan, Ral-pa-can	HTS,Ts'e-fu,TC,TCTC: 可黎可足 khâ: liei khâ: tsjwok
10.	Glang-dar-ma	Dar-ma, Dar-ma 'U-	CTS,HTS,TT,TCTC:

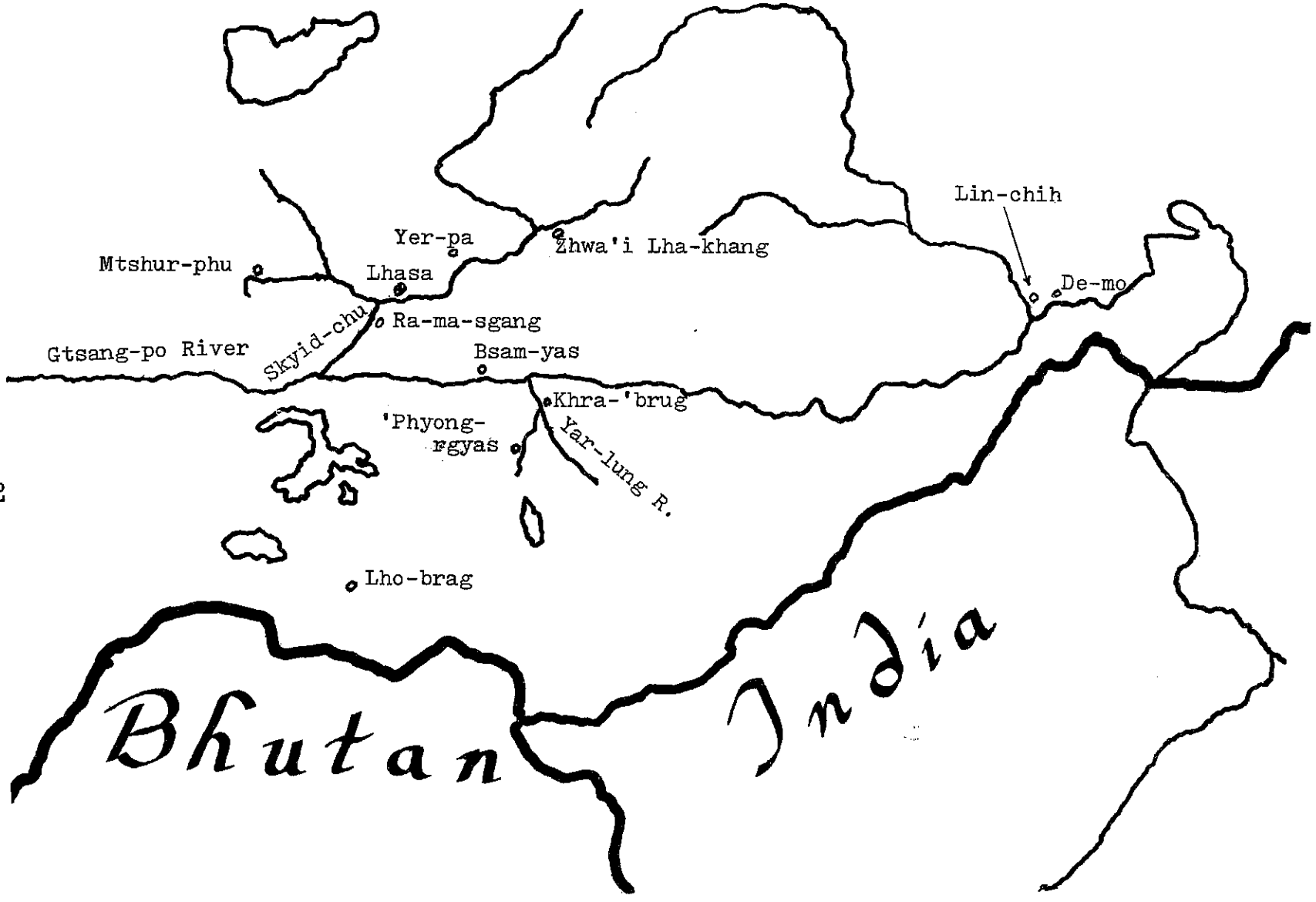
(r. 838-842)	dum-btsan, Khri-'u-dum-btsan Dar-ma	dât muâ 達磨

Table II: The Old Tibetan Inscriptions in Chronological Order

Text numbers refer to the order of occurrence in Part II

Text Number	Text Name	Dating
II	The Zhol Inscriptions	after 763 (date of the Tibetan occupation of the T'ang capital, Ch'ang-an)
III	The Bsam-yas Inscription	at the founding of Bsam-yas (suggested dates have been 779 or 791)
X	The Bsam-yas Bell Inscription	at or near the founding of Bsam-yas
V	The Inscription at 'Phyong-rgyas Bridge	near or perhaps after the end of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan's reign (797)
IV	The Rkong-po Inscription	reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (799 ?-815)
VII	The Inscriptions at Zhwa'i Lha-khang	reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan
IX	The Skar-cung Inscription	reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan

XI	The Khra-'brug Bell Inscription	reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan
VI	The Inscription at the tomb of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan	after the death of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (815)
VIII	The Mtshur-phu Inscription	reign of Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (815-838)
I	The Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821-822	erected 823
XIV	The Tun-huang Cave Inscription	834
XII	The Yer-pa Bell Inscription	undatable
XIII	The Lho-brag Inscription	undatable



Map: Sites of the Inscriptions

CHAPTER 3

TEXT I: THE SINO-TIBETAN TREATY INSCRIPTION OF 821-822

Date of the Inscription: composed 821-822, erected 823

Location: Lhasa, before the Lhasa Gtsug-lag-khang

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Bushell (1880); Chang (1981); Francke (1909-10); Fujita (1943); Li (1956a, 1979, 1980); Lo (1909); Lo (1933); Naitō (1928); Richardson (1952, 1978, 1985:106-143); Satō (1949, 1959); Suwa (1950); Teramoto (1929); Waddell (1909-11); Wang (1982:1-60); Wen (1945); Yamaguchi (1969); Yao (1934)

Published Rubbings: Bushell (1880): west and north faces; Lo (1909): all faces; Lo (1933): north and south faces; Naitō (1928): all faces; Wang (1982): all faces; Richardson (1985:Plate 14): east face, lines 24-49; south face, lines 18-35

Published Photographs: distant views only

The stone pillar bearing the Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription of 821-822 is one of the most notable monuments of Tibetan antiquity. It stands before the famous Lhasa Gtsug-lag-khang, or Jo-khang, called in Chinese Ta-chao-ssu

大昭寺, and measures according to Wang (1982:39) 4.78 by .95 by .50 meters. Recent excavation shows that it stands on a stone tortoise (Wen-wu 1985.9:77-78).

All four sides of the pillar bear inscriptions. The west side has the bilingual version of the treaty, the Chinese version consisting of six vertical lines and the Tibetan version of seventy-seven horizontal lines. The east side bears the monolingual edict of Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, totaling seventy-one lines, which gives a brief summary of Sino-Tibetan relations up to his time and tells where and when the treaty was concluded, and when the inscription was erected. The treaty was first sworn to and signed by the Chinese in Ch'ang-an in 821, and by the Tibetans in Lhasa in 822. The exact date given for the erection of this inscription is "the fourteenth day of the mid-spring month of the Female-Water-Hare year, the name of the year in Great Tibet being the 9th year of Skyi-rtag, and the name of the year in Great China being the 3rd year of Cang-keng (i.e. Ch'ang-ch'ing)," namely 823. The north side gives in bilingual version the names of the Tibetan officials who participated in the conclusion of the treaty, totaling seventeen names; the south side gives in bilingual version the names of the Chinese officials, totaling eighteen names.

The text is the most studied of all OT inscriptions. In addition to the numerous specialized works devoted specifically to it there are in fact few books or articles on the later royal period which do not mention it in some connection. It is significant not only as a first-hand record

of historical events leading up to and surrounding the framing of the treaty but also for the light it throws on the terminology of the early Tibetan officialdom and on the sound systems of OT and MC. The historical setting of the text is briefly touched upon in Chapter 1 above and has been discussed in more detail in the contributions of Satō (1949, 1959), Richardson (1952, 1978, 1985), and Wang (1982). Our views on it are set forth in an earlier study (Li 1956a:6-24). Further historical and philological problems have been taken up more recently (Li 1979 and 1980).

The rubbings consulted for the Tibetan texts are those published by Bushell (1880), Lo (1909), Naitō (1928), Lo (1933), and Richardson (1985). In addition, through the kindness of the National Museum of History 中國歷史博物館, Peking, we have been sent photographs of a set of excellent unpublished rubbings in their collection. These rubbings are for the west and north face inscriptions and, according to the attached colophons may once have been in the collections of the well-known antiquarian Wang I-jung 王懿榮 (1845-1900) and the bibliophile Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫 (1844-1919). The rubbings themselves are not dated in our photos but are generally of high quality and at certain points contain portions of the texts which are indistinct or missing from the published rubbings.

Our readings of the texts are based entirely on the various rubbings. Numerous interesting emendations to the texts have been suggested by Richardson (1978 and 1985) on the basis of the copy of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu (cf.

Chapter 2 above), and many of them have been tacitly adopted in Wang's versions. All such emendations have been given in our text notes, but they are not included in our versions of the texts.

Though our concern here is with the Tibetan versions, the Chinese texts are given for reference. The reading of these is as given in Li (1956a: 34-41), with several minor revisions.

Text I

Text of the West Face Inscription

1. // bod gyi[1] rgyal po chen po
2. 'phrul gyi lha btsan po dang //
3. rgya'i rgyal po chen po rgya rje hwang te
4. dbon zhang gnyis // chab srid
5. gcig du mol[2] nas // mjal dum
6. chen po mdzad[3] de gtsigs bcas[4]
7. pa // nam zhar[5] yang myi 'gyur bar[6]
8. lha myi kun ⌈gyis⌋ shes[7] shing dpang byas[8]
9. te // tshe tshe ⌈rabs rabs⌋ su // brjod[9]
10. du yod ba'i[10] ⌈mjal dum gyi gtsigs⌋[11]
11. kyi[12] mdo rdo[13] rings ⌈la bris pa'o⌋[14]
12. // 'phrul gyi ⌈lha btsan po khri gtsug⌋[15]
13. lde brtsan gyi ..... ⌈rgya rje⌋[16]
14. b'un b'u he'u tig[17] ⌈hwang te ... dbon⌋[18]
15. zhang gnyis[19] //.....
16. ni // 'phral ⌈yun⌋ - - // gyi[20] legs
17. nyes ci .....[21] thugs rje chen[22]
18. pos ni // bka' drin[23] gyis dgab[24] pa
19. la phyi nang[25] myed pas // mang po kun bde
20. skyid par bya ba la ni dgongs pa gcig[26] /
21. yun[27] ring[28] por legs pa'i[29] don chen po
22. la ni bka' gros mthun te // gnyen[30]
23. rnying pa'i sri zhu[31] ni - - - khyim tshes[32]
24. dgyes pa'i[33] cho - - - brtseg[34] par[35]
25. mol nas // mjal dum chen po ni[36]
26. mdzad de // bod rgya gnyis // da ltar
27. su[37] mnga' ba'i yul dang mtshams srung

28. zhing // de'i shar[38] phyogs thams cad nɨ
29. rgya chen po'i yul // nub phyogs thams
30. cad nɨ yang thag par bod chen po'i
31. yul te[39] // de las phan tshun dgrar myɨ
32. 'thab // dmag myɨ drang[40] // yul myɨ
33. mrnam[41] // yɨd[42] ma ches pa zhɨg[43] yod
34. na // myɨ bzung zhing gtam drɨs te //
35. brdzangs nas phyɨr gtang ngo /
36. da chab srɨd gcig cɨng // mjal
37. dum chen po 'dɨ ltar mdzad pas[44]
38. dbon zhang dgyes pa'i bka' phrind[45]
39. snyan pas kyang 'drul[46] dgos te //
40. phan tshun gyɨ pho nya 'dong ba yang // lam
41. rnying par[47] byung nas // snga lugs bzhin
42. // bod rgya gnyis kyɨ bar[48] // tsang[49] kun
43. yog du rta brjes la // stse zhung cheg[50] du
44. rgya dang phrad pa man cad nɨ rgyas phu dud
45. bya // tseng shu hywan[51] du bod dang phrad pa
46. yan cad nɨ bod kyis[52] phu dud bya ste //
47. dbon zhang nye zhɨng gnyen ba'ɨ[53] tshul bzhin
48. du // srɨ[54] zhu dang bkur stɨ'i lugs
49. yod par sbyar te // yul gnyɨs[55] kyi
50. bar na dud[56] rdul nɨ myi[57] snang // glo bur
51. du sdang[58] ba dang dgra'i myɨng[59] nɨ myi grag ste
52. sa[60] mtshams srung ba'ɨ myi yan cad
53. kyang dogs shɨng[61] 'jigs pa myed[61a] par
54. sa sa mal mal na bag brkyang[62] ste // bde
55. bar[62a] 'khod cɨng[63] // skyid pa'ɨ bka' drɨn

Text I

56. ni rabs[64] khri'i bar du thob[65] // snyan pa'i
57. sgra skad[66] ni gnyi zlas slebs so chog[67] du[68]
58. khyab ste // bod bod yul na skyid //
59. rgya rgya yul na skyid pa'i srid[69] chen po
60. sbyar nas gtsigs[70] bcas pa 'di - -[71]
61. nam zhar myi[72] 'gyur bar // dkon mchog
62. gsum dang // 'phags pa'i rnams dang[73]
63. gnyi[74] zla dang gza skar la yang dpang du
64. gsol te // tha tshig[75] gi rnams pas kyang
65. bshad[76] // srog chags bsad de mna'
66. yang bor nas // gtsigs[77] bcas so //
67. gtsigs[78] 'di bzhin du ma byas[79] sam /
68. bshig[80] na // bod rgya gnyis gang gis sngar nyes
69. pa la sdig cing // lan du dku sgyu[81] ci byas kyang
70. gtsigs bshig pa[82] la ma gtogs so //
71. 'di ltar bod rgya gnyis kyi rje blon gyis kha
72. cig[83] bshags[84] mna' bor te // gtsigs[85]
73. kyi yi ge zhib mor[86] bris[87] nas[88] // rgyal po chen
74. po gnyis kyi ni phyag rgyas btab // blon po
75. gtsigs 'dzin pa la gtogs pa[89] rnams
76. kyi ni lag[90] yig du bris te // gtsigs[91] kyi
77. yi ge dkor gyi phyag sbal du[92] bzhag go //

Notes to the West Face Text

Abbreviations:

Francke:	Francke (1909-10)
Lo	Lo (1933)
NMH	Unpublished rubbing of the National Museum of History, Peking
Richardson I:	Richardson (1952)
II:	(1978)
III:	(1985)
Satō	Satō (1959)
Waddell	Waddell (1909-11)
Wang	Wang (1982)

1) Waddell: gyi; Satō: gi; Francke: kyi

2) Waddell, Francke: sol

3) Waddell: mdzed

4) Waddell: gnyi kyis ...; Satō: gcigs bca(s)

5) Waddell, Satō: sar; Francke: par

6) Waddell, Satō: ba; Richardson I: ba(r)

7) Waddell: zhes; Richardson I: (gyi)s shes; Richardson II,III: gyis shes; Wang: gyis shes

8) Waddell: byis

9) Richardson I: tshe tshe('i myi rabs kyi gtam b)rjo(d); Richardson III: tshe tshe rabs rabs su // brjod;

Text I

Wang: tshe tshe rabs rabs su gtam brjod

10) Satō, Richardson I,III: du yod pa'i; Francke: ru yong ba'i

11) Richardson I: (phyir / / gtsigs); Richardson II: (phyir / /) gtsigs; Richardson III: phyir // gtsigs; Wang: phyir // mjal dum gyi gtsigs

12) Waddell, Satō: gyi

13) Waddell: med rdo; Francke: mang rdo

14) Richardson II,III; Wang: la bris pa'o

15) Richardson II, III; Wang: lha btsan po khri gtsug

16) Richardson I: gyi (zha snga nas // rgya rje); Richardson II, III: gyi zha snga nas // rgya rje; Wang: gyi zha snga nas // rgya rje

17) Waddell: ti; Francke ta

18) Richardson I: ti(g hwang te dang // dbon); Richardson II: tig hwang te (dang) // 'phrul dbon; Richardson III: tig hwang te dang // 'phrul dbon; Wang: tig hwang te dang // dbon

19) Richardson II: gnyis

20) Richardson I, emendation for lines 15-16: (sgam dkyel chen pos) ni // ('phral yun yul gyi); Wang: sgam dkyel chen pos ni // 'phral yun yul gyi; Richardson II,III: sgam dkyel chen pos ni // 'phral yun gnyis gyi

21) Richardson I, emendation: (yang bsrung ste //); Richardson II,III: yang mkhyen //; Wang: yang bsrung ste //

22) Francke: zhug rje chen

23) Waddell; Richardson I,II: drin

24) Waddell: dgrab; Francke: dlcrab

25) Francke: phind

26) Richardson I, Wang: gcɨg

27) Waddell: lan

28) Richardson I: ring

29) Richardson I: pa'i

30) Waddell: mthan te // g.....; Satō: mthun te // g....; Richardson I, II and Wang read de rather than te in this passage.

31) Waddell: rnying po myi zhu; Satō: rtsing pa'ɨ ... zhu; Francke: ring par myi zhu; Richardson I: srid zhu

32) Waddell: -ɨm che; Satō: ....che; Richardson I: (nɨ dang snga'i) khyɨm tshes; Richardson II,III: nɨ bstud // khyɨm tshes; Wang: nɨ dang snga'i khyɨm tshes

33) Richardson I, Wang: pa'i

34) Waddell: brtsig; Richardson I: tshul (slar du) brtsig; Richardson II,III: tshad kha ni brtseg; Wang: tshul slar du brtsegs

35) Richardson II,III: mar

36) Waddell: po'ɨ; Richardson I: po'o; Richardson II: po'a; Richardson III: po'

37) Satō: ru; Francke: .....; Wang: du

38) Waddell: de'ɨ zhar

39) Francke: yuld

40) Waddell, Francke: dang

41) Waddell: ma rnam; Francke: rnams

42) Richardson I: yid

43) Waddell: khrɨg; Francke: khrig

Text I

44) Waddell: bas

45) Waddell: phrin da

46) Waddell, Satō: 'dul

47) Satō: ring por

48) Li (1956a): bang

49) Satō: cang; Francke: tsong

50) Satō: tsheg

51) Waddell: ceng zhu hywan; Satō: ceng shu hyan; Francke: ceng shu hywan

52) Richardson I,II,III; Li (1956a):gyis

53) Waddell: pa'i; Richardson I: pa'i

54) Richardson I: sri

55) Richardson II, Wang: gnyis

56) Satō: dur

57) Satō: myi

58) Richardson I,II; Wang: sngang

59) Richardson I: mying

60) Waddell: //

61) Waddell: zhing; Wang: shing

61a) Richardson III: med

62) Francke: ...mal mald sngag pa

62a) Francke: ba

63) Richardson II: cing

64) Francke: 'ba

65) Waddell, Satō, Francke: thog

66) Francke: gsung

67) Waddell: sleb pas tshams; Satō: slebs so so cog

68) Richardson I, Wang: tu

69) Satō: srid

70) Waddell, Satō: gcigs

71) Francke: dang; Richardson I,II,III; Wang //

72) Waddell: par gyi; Satō: par myi; Francke: par myi

73) Francke: nam kha

74) Waddell: ba nyi; Francke: nyi

75) Waddell: gchig

76) Waddell: ba shad

77) Satō: gcigs; Richardson I, Wang: gtsigs

78) Satō: gcigs

79) Waddell: dum bya sa; Satō: dum byas; Francke: du myi byas

80) Waddell: bzhig; Satō: bzhag

81) Waddell: skyu; Satō: skya; Francke: skyu

82) Waddell: gtsigs po bzhig; Satō: gcigs bshigs; Richardson II: gtsigs bshig pa; Richardson III: gtsigs bshig pa

83) Richardson I,II,III;Wang: zhal gyis

84) Waddell: bris bzhags; Satō: gyi ...

85) Satō: gcigs

86) Waddell: gyi ...i mod; Satō: gyi yi ge zhib mor

87) Richardson I,II; Wang: bris

88) Richardson I: pas

89) Waddell: gcigs 'dzin pa lu gtogs pa; Satō: gcig 'dzin pa la gtogs pa; Francke: ...'dzim pa la gsogs pa

90) Satō: log

91) Waddell, Satō: gcigs

92) Waddell: ...la...phyag mdzod du; Francke: .....ru;

69) Satō: srid

70) Waddell, Satō: gcigs

71) Francke: dang; Richardson I,II,III; Wang //

72) Waddell: par gyi; Satō: par myi; Francke: par myi

73) Francke: nam kha

74) Waddell: ba nyi; Francke: nyi

75) Waddell: gchig

76) Waddell: ba shad

77) Satō: gcigs; Richardson I, Wang: gtsigs

78) Satō: gcigs

79) Waddell: dum bya sa; Satō: dum byas; Francke: du myi byas

80) Waddell: bzhig; Satō: bzhag

81) Waddell: skyu; Satō: skya; Francke: skyu

82) Waddell: gtsigs po bzhig; Satō: gcigs bshigs; Richardson II: gtsigs bshig pa; Richardson III: gtsigs bshig pa

83) Richardson I,II,III;Wang: zhal gyis

84) Waddell: bris bzhags; Satō: gyi ...

85) Satō: gcigs

86) Waddell: gyi ...i mod; Satō: gyi yi ge zhib mor

87) Richardson I,II; Wang: bris

88) Richardson I: pas

89) Waddell: gcigs 'dzin pa lu gtogs pa; Satō: gcig 'dzin pa la gtogs pa; Francke: ...'dzim pa la gsogs pa

90) Satō: log

91) Waddell, Satō: gcigs

92) Waddell: ...la...phyag mdzod du; Francke: .....ru;

Text I

Richardson I,II,III; Wang: yi ge yang so so'i phyag sbal du

Text of the East Face Inscription

1. // 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri gtsug lde brtsan dang // rgya rje b'un b'u he'u
2. tig[1] /hwang/[2] te gnyis // chab srid gcig[3] du[4] mol te mjal dum mdzad pa'i
3. /dbon zhang/ gnyis[5] kyi tshul ci 'dra ba dang // mjal dum mdzad pa'i
4. - - - - s[6] rdo rings la bris pa'o
5. // 'phrul gyi lha btsan po 'o lde spu[7] rgyal // yul[8] byung sa dod tshun cad
6. -ung - - - - - r[9] // bod kyi rgyal po chen po mdzad pa yang // g - -[10]
7. - -on[11] po'i ni dbus //[12] chu bo chen po'i ni mgo // yul mtho sa gtsa/ng/[13]
8. - - /g/nam[14] gyi lha las // myi'i rgyal por gshegs te// gtsug lag
9. /chen pos/[15] ni // -d[16] kyi srid btsugs // chos khrims bzang pos ni //[16a]
10. - - - - - ng[17] // byams /pa'i/[18] bka' drin gyis ni nang gi tshis[19] sbyard //
11) - -s - las - - -[20] phyi'i dgra btul[21] te // chab srid ni phyir zhing[22] che
12. /dbu rmog/[23] ni slar zhing[24] brtsan pa - - nam zhar - - ug[25] myi 'gyur // byin /myi/[26]
13. /nya/m/s pa/'i[27] g-yung drung gi rgyal po chen po ni che -[28]// de'i phyir[29] // lho phyogs
14. gyi /mo/n[30] rgya gar dang // nub phyogs - - - - -[31] dang // byang phyogs kyi drug ni[32]
15. spel[33] la stsogs[34] pa // g-yu g- -[35] rgyal po sdom -o - y-b kun ky-[36] - -

Text I

16. 'phrul gyi lha btsan po'i dbu rmog brtsan po dang - - - - - -ng po -i-[37]

17. -y-gs[38] myi gus pa myed[39] de // phan tshun dgyes shing // b/k/a' stsal - - cho-[40]

18. nyan pa yin / - -[41] shar phyogs /na/[42] rgya 'dug pa // mtsho chen po'i - - -i[43]

19. shar pa logs kyi[44] rgyal po ste // lho bal gzhan dang myi 'dra - - - - -[45]

20. chos bzang // gtsug lag che bas // bod dang yang // 'thab kyi zla - - - -[46]

21. gyi -[47] ste // dang po rgya rje li rgyal sar zhugs nas // de'e tang gi[47a] srid lo nyi /shu/[48]

22. rtsa gsum lon // rgyal rabs gcig gi 'og du // 'phrul gyi lha btsan /po/[49]

23. khri srong brtsan dang // rgya rje the'e tsong b'un bu[49a] sheng[50] hwang te gnyis / // chab/[51]

24. srid[52] gcig du mol nas // ceng kwan gyi lo la // mun sheng kong co //

25. btsan[53] po'i khab du blangs // phyis 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri lde /gtsug/[54]

26. brtsan[55] dang // rgya rje sam lang kha'e 'gwan sheng b'un shin b'u hwang te /gnyis/[56]

27. /chab/ srid[57] gcig du mol te // gnyen brtsegs nas // keng lung gi[58] lo /la/[59]

28. /ki/m shing[60] kong co // btsan po'i khab du[61] blangs nas // dbon zhang du gyur

29. te dgyes pa las // bar 'ga' phan tshun gyi so'i blon pos gnod pa

30. dag rngul gyis[62] kyang // gnyen ba'i [chab][63] gang du bya ba // thugs brel che nas[64]

31. do 'a dag[65] gi tshe[66] // dmag stongs kyis phan thogs par byas pa dang // phan tshun

32. [thugs] nongs byung ngo chog na // dgyes snang dag kyang ma tshad[67] par bsris te //

33. 'di ltar nye zhing[68] gnyen ba[68a] yin na // dbon zhang gi tshul kho na ltar // thugs

34. yi[69] dam phabs pa las // btsan po yab lha 'phrul khri lde srong brtsan gyi zha

35. snga nas // sgam dkyel chen pos ni // chos srid ci la yang mkhas shing gsal

36. byams pa'i bka' drin gyis ni[70] // phyi nang myed par // phyogs brgyad du khyab[71] ste

37. mtha[72] bzhi rgyal po kun dang yang mjald cing[73] 'dum bar[74] mdzad na // rgya dang lta

38. zhig // gnyen rtseg pa[75] // yul khyim tshes[76] yin bas // lhag par chab srid

39. gcig du dgyes te // phan tshun dbon zhang dgongs pa mthun nas // rgya rje zheng

40. shin[77] b'un b'u hwang te dang // mjal dum du[78] mol te // bka' khon rnying pa ni

41. sbyangs[79] shing bsald[80] // dgyes pa gsar[80a] ni[81] bslas shing bstud[82] nas // de tshun

42. cad[83] // btsan po dbon ni sku tshe gcig[84] // rgya rje zhang ni[85] gdung rabs gsum gyi

43. bar du // bka' khon gyi gcugs ni ma byung // dgyes pa'i sri zhu ni phan tshun

Text I

44. phyad[86] de // pho nya gces pa las // bka' phrin snyan pa dang // dkor nor //[87]

45. bzang pos ni // rgyun du 'drul[88] na // mjal dum gyi mdo chen po gtsigs[89]

46. bca ba lta bu yang ma grub // dbon zhang mold ba'i[90] rjes kyang tshad[91] ma phyin par /

47. thugs nongs kyis brtsal te // bar gyi gcugs rnying pa phran tshegs kyi /

48. dogs phrig gis // legs pa chen po'i sku don // phyi - igs she dag[92] du gyur

49. nas // dgra chos kyi thabs dang // dmag brtsan po dag kyang myi rngul du ma[93]

50. rung ste // dgra zun gyi tshul du gyurd kyis[94] kyang // yang[95] nye zhing gnyen la - -[96]

51. 'phrul gyi[97] lha btsan po khri gtsug lde brtsan gyi zha snga nas // mkhyen pa ni[98] //

52. 'phrul gyi[99] tshul chags // mdzad pa ni lha'i lugs dang mthun te // bka[100]

53. drin chen pos // phyi nang gnyis su snyoms shing // dbu rmog brtsan // bka'

54. lung gnyan te // rgya rje b'un b'u he'u tig hwang te dang dbon zhang gnyis //[100a]

55. 'phrul gyi dgongs ba[101] ni mthun / - - - - - 'i[102] chab srid ni gcig ste //

56. bod rgya gnyis[103] rabs khrir[104] bde skyid[105] pa'i mjal dum chen po mdzad nas //

57. rgya yul du ni[106] // keng she'i[107] nub phyogs sheg[108] sang si'i drung du // bod chen

58. po'i[109] lo'i mying ni skyid rtag lo bdun // rgya chen po'i lo'i mying ni //

59. cang keng lo dang po lcags mo glang gi[110] lo'i dgun sla ra ba tshes bcu la //

60. dkyil 'khor la 'dzegs[111] na/s // rgya/s gtsigs[112] bzung ngo // bod

61. yul du ni // pho brang lha sa'i shar phyogs sbra[113] stod tshal du // bod chen po'i

62. lo'i ming[114] skyid rtag lo brgyad // rgya chen po'i[115] lo'i mying cang keng lo

63. /g/nyis[116] // chu pho stag gi lo'i dbyar sla 'bring po tshes drug la // dkyil[117]

64. 'khor la 'dzegs[118] te // bod kyis gtsigs[119] bzung ngo // gtsigs[119] kyi[120]

65. mdo rdo rings la bris pa 'di yang // bod chen po'i lo'i mying skyid rtag

66. lo dgu / / /rgya/[121] chen po'i lo'i[122] ming cang keng lo gsum // chu mo yos

67. bu lo'i d/pyid/ sla[123] 'bring po tshes bcu bzhi la // rdo rings[124] la yi[125] ge bris so //

68. rdo /ring/s[126] la[127] dri ba'i spyan yang // rgya'i pho nya thabs // 'gu

69. .....[128] /yo/d[129] pa // do tse'e[130] dang // - - - - - - - -[131] yod pa /

70. .....byas[132] so // gtsigs khrims[133] rdo rings la bris - -[134]

71. .....[135]

Text I

Notes to the East Face Text

1) Satō: chig

2) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: hwang

3) Richardson I: srid gcig; Richardson II: sri̇d gcig

4) Satō: tu

5) Richardson I: ....(g)nyis; Richardson II,III: tshe // bod rgya gnyi̇s; Wang: dbon zhang gnyi̇s

6) Richardson I: (gta)n (tshig)s; Richardson II,III; Wang: gtan tshigs

7) Satō: sbu

8) Richardson I: (yu)l

9) Richardson I: 'ung na(s mi'i rje)r; Richardson II: gdung ma' gyur bar; Richardson III: gdung ma 'gyur; Wang: 'ung nas myi'i rjer

10) Richardson I: gangs (ri); Richardson II,III; Wang: gangs ri

11) Richardson I: (m)thon; Richardson II,III; Wang: mthon

12) Satō: ø

13) Richardson II,III: gtsang //; Wang: gtsang

14) Satō: dam; Richardson I: (ba la) gnam; Richardson II, III: zhes //gnam; Wang: ba la gnam

15) Richardson II,III; Wang: chen pos

16) Richardson I: (yu)nd; Richardson II,III; Wang: yund

16a) Richardson II: myi'i; Richardson III: // myi'i

17) Richardson I: (tshu)l g(na)ng; Richardson II,III: lugs bsrang; Wang: tshul gnang

18) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: pa'i

19) Satō; Richardson I,II,III: chis; Wang: ches. (Note that Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu read tshis.)

20) Richardson I: (dgra tha)bs mkhas (na)s //; Richardson II,III: dgra thabs mkhas pas ni; Wang: dgra thabs mkhas nas //

21) Satō: btshul

22) Richardson I, Wang: zheng

23) Richardson I: ...; Richardson II,III; Wang: dbu rmog

24) Richardson I, Wang: zheng

25) Satō: brtsan pa ....-g; Richardson I: brtsan .. na ... -g; Richardson II: brtsan pas nam zhar gtsug; Richardson III: brtsan pas //nam zhar gtsug; Wang: brtsan pa .... nam zhar (yang)

26) Richardson I: byin ...; Richardson II, Wang: byin myi; Richardson III: byin myi

27) Richardson I: (gyi rlabs) pa'i; Richardson II: nyams pa'i; Richardson III; Wang: nyams pa'i

28) Richardson I: chen po'i tshe; Richardson II,III: chen po yin; Wang: chen po ni che

29) Satō: de'i phyir; Richardson II: de'i phyir

30) Richardson I: gyi (mon); Richardson II,III: gyi mon; Wang: kyi mon

31) Richardson I: nub phyo(gs kyi ta zig); Richardson II, III; Wang: nub phyogs kyi ta zig

32) Richardson I, Wang: dru gu ne; Richardson II,III: dru gu no

33) Satō; Richardson I,II,III; Wang: smel

34) Satō: stsags

35) Satō: g-yug; Richardson I g-ya g....; Richardson II, III: g-ya g-yo'i; Wang: g-yul ....

36) Satō: sde m..... kun gyi; Richardson I: sde n-...-o(r bya) ba kun ky-...; Richardson II,III: sde chen por bya ba kun kyang //; Wang: sdom n-...-or bya ba kun kyi ...

37) Richardson I: ...-ng po(r ni); Richardson II: lugs bzang po la // myi; Richardson III: lugs bzang po la myi; Wang: ..-ng bor ni

38) Satō: (phyo)gs; Richardson I,II,III; Wang: phyogs

39) Richardson III: gus med

40) Richardson I: b(ka') stsal(d do) cho(g); Richardson II,III: bka' stsald to chog; Wang: bka' stsald do chog

41) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: //

42) Richardson II,III: na; Wang: ni

43) Richardson I: chen ..-i-... nyi (ma); Richardson II, III: chen po'i bar // nyi ma; Wang: chen po'i (mtha) nyi ma

44) Satō: kyi

45) Satō: 'phr-...; Richardson I: 'dra (bar) ...-g; Richardson II,III: 'dra bar // srid dang; Wang: 'dra ba (srid legs)

46) Richardson I: ...-l-...; Richardson II,III: // gnyen; Wang: (dang grogs)

47) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: do

47a) Satō: gyi

48) Richardson I: srid lo (nyi shu); Richardson II,III; Wang: srid lo nyi shu

49) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: po

49a) Richardson II,III: b'u

50) Richardson I, Wang: zheng

51) Richardson I: / chab; Richardson II,III; Wang: // chab

52) Richardson I: (sri)d

53) Richardson I: (btsan)

54) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: gtsug

55) Richardson I: (b)rtsan

56) Richardson I: (gnyis //); Richardson II,III; dang //; Wang: gnyis //

57) Richardson I: (chab srid)d; Richardson II,III; Wang: chab srid

58) Satō: gyi; Richardson I: gi'i; Richardson II: gi

59) Richardson II, Wang: la

60) Richardson I: (kim) sheng; Richardson II,III: kim shang; Wang: kim shing

61) Richardson I: tu

62) Satō, Wang: rdul byas

63) Richardson I, Wang: pa'i tshab; Li (1956a): ba'i tshab

64) Richardson I, Wang: chen

65) Satō: do ... dag; Richardson I, Wang: po'i dag; Richardson III: do' dag

66) Satō, Richardson I: che

67) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: chad

Text I

68) Satō: shi±ng

68a) Richardson III: pa

69) Richardson I: gy±

70) Richardson I: ni

71) Satō: khab

72) Satō: m-..

73) Wang: cing

74) Richardson I: par

75) Satō, Richardson I,II,III: ma

76) Satō: ches

77) Richardson I: (she)n

78) Richardson II and III do not have du.

79) Wang: spyangs

80) Wang: gsald

80a) Satō: gsal

81) Richardson I,II: ni

82) Wang: bstung

83) Richardson I, Wang: de tshun chad

84) Richardson I: gcig

85) Richardson I: ni

86) Wang: phyang

87) Wang: ∅

88) Satō: 'dul; Wang: 'thul

89) Satō: gcigs

90) Richardson I, Wang: pa'±

91) Satō: tshang; Richardson I,II; Wang: tshar

92) Sato: lcigs she stag; Richardson I,II,III; Wang: lcigs she dag

93) Satō: rdul dum; Richardson II: rngul ma

94) Richardson I, Wang: gyis

95) Satō; Richardson I,II,III; Wang: yong

96) Satō: la /; Richardson I,II,III: la //

97) Richardson I, Wang: gyi

98) Satō leaves pa ni out.

99) Richardson I, Wang: gyi

100) Satō; Richardson I,II; Wang: bka'. Richardson notes that the letter '- is written below the line.

100a) Wang: ø

101) Richardson I,III; Wang: pa

102) Richardson I: (te // bod rgya)'i; Richardson II,III: // legs pa'i; Wang: te // bod rgya

103) Richardson I,II: gnyis

104) Satō: dbus phyir

105) Satō: sar skyang

106) Richardson I, Wang: ni

107) Richardson I, Wang: shi'i; Richardson II,III: shi'i

108) Satō: shag

109) Richardson I: po'i

110) Satō: gyi

111) Li (1956a): 'jags

112) Satō: na // rgya kyis gcigs; Richardson I: na(s // rgya yi)s gtsigs; Richardson II,III: nas // rgyas gtsigs; Wang: nas // rgya yis gtsigs

113) Richardson I: spra

igs

114) Richardson II: mying

115) Wang: po'i

Text I

116) Richardson I, Wang: gnyɨs; Richardson II: gnyis

117) Richardson II: dkyil

118) Li (1956a): 'jags

119) Satō: gcɨgs

120) Richardson I: kyi

121) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: / rgya

122) Richardson I: lo'ɨ

123) Satō: lo ... sla; Richardson I: lo'i dpyɨr sla; Richardson II,III; Wang: lo'i dpyɨd sla

124) Richardson I, Wang: rings

125) Wang: yi

126) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: rings

127) Richardson I, Wang: 'di; Richardson II: 'dɨ

128) Richardson I: 'gu (shɨ'u) zhang shɨng; Richardson II, III: 'gu shi cung shɨng; Wang: 'gu she'u zhang shing

129) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: yod

130) Satō: tsa'e

131) Richardson I,II; Wang: thabs tsan shan de b'u; Richardson III: thabs can shan de b'u

132) Satō: ...bya; Richardson I: -k -u- la stsogs pas byas; Richardson II,III: li kri b'u la stsogs pas byas; Wang: ...la stsogs pas byas

133) Satō: gcig gyi khrims; Richardson I, Wang: gtsigs gyi mdo; Richardson II,III: gtsigs kyɨ mdo

134) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: pa 'dɨ

135) Richardson I: (dang 'dra) ba gcig // rgya'ɨ yul keng shɨr yang gtsugs so //; Richardson II,III; Wang: dang 'dra ba gcig // rgya'ɨ yul keng shɨr yang btsugs so //

Text of the North Face Inscription

1. // bod chen po'i blon po che phra[1] mjal
2. dum gyi gtsigs 'dzin pa la[2] gtogs
3. pa'i[3] thabs dang mying rus la //

大 相 好 立 寮
蕃 等 登 盟 名
宰 和 壇 官 位

4. // bod chen po'i chab srid[4] kyi blon po chen
5. po bka' la gtogs pa'i[5] thabs dang mying
6. rus //

宰 同 章 名
相 平 事 位

7. [//][6] bka'[7] chen po la gtogs te phyi nang[8]
8. gnyis la dbang zhing[9] chab srid[10] 'dzin [pa][11]
9. [ba]n de[12] chen po dpal chen po yon [tan][13]

× × 平 × ×
× × 章 × ×
× 政 事 × ×
× 同 沙 × ×

10. .....dmag[14] go chog gi[15] bla[16] zhang[17] khri sum rje[18]

× × 都 平 綺
× × 元 章 心
× × 帥 事 兒
× 馬 同 尚

11. ... [-r][19] blon chen po blon -o-[20]....

× 同 章 × ×
× 平 事 × 熱

12. // gung blon 'o[g] pon dmag[21] ....

13. .....bzang /[21a]

天 馬 帥 童 ×
下 副 同 事 ×
兵 元 平 ⌊ ×

14. [// chab srid][22] kyi blon po[23] chen po blon rgyal

15. .....[24]

× × × × ×
× × × × ×
× × × × ×

16. .....sri...-i-.....-n po .....

17. .....[25]

宰 平 論 匝
相 章 結 熱
同 事 贊

18. // chab srid kyi blon po chen po zhang - - -[26]

19. khod ne stang //

宰 平 尚 贊 悉
相 章 綺 窒 當
同 事 立 寧

20. // chab srid kyi blon po chen po zhang khri bzher[27]

21. lha mthong //

宰 平 尚 熱 通
相 章 綺 貪
同 事 立

22. // chab srid kyi blon po chen po blon rgyal bzang

23. 'dus kong[28] //

宰 平 論 弩 恭
相 章 頰 悉
同 事 藏

24. //bod chen po'i blon po phal[29] gyi thabs dang

25. mying rus //
大諸宰壇名
蕃寮登者位

26. nang blon mchims zhang rgyal bzher khod ne

27. brtsan[30] //
曩琛類窒贊
論尚熱寧

28. // phyi blon bka' la gtogs pa cog ro

29. blon btsan bzher lho[31] gong //
紇羅屬贊公
論篤盧熱
伽波論土

30. // snam[32] phyi pa mchims zhang brtan bzher stag[33]

31. cab[34] //
悉波旦諾
南琛熱弔
紇尚悉

32. // mngan pon khab so 'o chog[35] gi bla 'bal blon

33. klu[36] bzang myes rma //
岸藕劫論臧
奔户羅矩名
榼屬末立摩

34. // bka'i phrin blon bran[37] ka blon stag[38] bzher hab

35. ken[39] //
給勃論熱
事闌悉合
中伽諾乾

36. // rtsis pa chen[40] po rngegs[41] blon stag
37. zi̱gs[42] rgan khol[43] //

資 折 論 昔
悉 通 悉 斡
波 額 諾 寔

38. // phyi̱ blon 'bro[44] zhang klu bzang lha bo[45] brtsan[46]

紇 盧 樓 他
論 尚 勃 藉
沒 ㄨ 藏 贊

39. // zhal ce pa[47] chen po zhal ce'o chog gi̱
40. bla[48] // myang blon rgyal gen[49] legs tsan[50]

刑 尚 明 結 歷
部 書 論 研 贊

Notes to the North Face Text

1) Waddell: chen po la

2) Waddell: ya la; Satō: phal; Francke: ba'i

6)

3) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: pa'i

4) Wang: srid

5) Richardson I: pa'i

6) Richardson I,III; Wang: //

7) Francke: kha

8) Satō: phyin

9) Wang: zhing

10) Richardson III: sṛid

11) Francke: sa; Wang: pa

12) Waddell: blon; Richardson I: (la) blon; Wang: ban de

13) Richardson I,II,III: (tan //); Wang: tan

14) Francke: gy(i); Richardson I: (//) ... (blon d)mag: Richardson III: (dma)g

15) Richardson I: gi

16) Waddell, Richardson I, Wang: blon

17) Richardson I: (rla)d

18) Richardson I emends (speg lha) after rje. Richardson II and III omit this. Wang writes sbeg lha.

19) This letter, probably -r, is visible in the NMH rubbing.

20) Waddell: lṛ; Richardson I, Wang: lho; Richardson II, III: (lo bzher)

Text I

21) Richardson I: (//) gung blon (chen) po na dmag ...; Richardson II,III: ....blon po (d)pon dmag ...; Wang: // gung blon chen po dpon dmag. In the NMH rubbing 'o- is clearly visible and -g is partially so. There is no space for d- before pon.

21a) This "/" is visible in the NMH rubbing. It has not been included in previously published transcriptions.

22) Richardson II: (//) chab srid; Richardson III, Wang: // chab srid

23) Richardson I: (po)

24) Richardson I: (zhang) rgya(l khri mdo gzigs //); Richardson II,III: rgy(al)...; Wang: rgyal khri mdo gzigs

25) Satō: (chab srid kyi blon po che)n po (blon rgyal brtsan s-... b)zher //; Richardson I: (// chab srid kyi blon po chen po) blon (mchims zhang rgyal btsan b)zhe(r //); Richardson II,III: (// chab srid kyi blon po chen po blon khri btsan ...bzher //); Wang: // chab srid kyi blon po chen po blon mchims zhang rgyal btsan bzher //

26) Lo: khri btsan; Satō: khri brtsan; Richardson I: khri (btsan); Richardson II,III: khri btsan; Wang: khri btsan

27) Waddell: bzhi

28) Francke: (r)kang; Lo: kung

29) Waddell: phal

30) Lo: btsan

31) Waddell: lha

32) Waddell: blon

33) Lo: snag

34) Waddell: cang or ca ba; Francke; Lo; Satō; Richardson I,II; Wang: tsab

35) Waddell: lab sa'i cho ga; Francke: kha ba so'i slog; Lo: khabs 'o chog

36) Waddell: ku; Lo: kru

37) Waddell, Lo: chen

38) Lo: snag

39) Waddell, Francke: nyen

40) Lo, Satō: ched

41) Waddell: rtsam pa; Satō: -yas

42) Francke: gzigs; Richardson II: zigs

43) Waddell: rgan 'o la; Lo: rgan khod; Richardson I,II,III: kol

44) Waddell: kha (lo)

45) Lo, Satō: po

46) Lo: btsan

47) Francke: ba

48) Richardson I: ...; Wang: (blon)

49) Lo: 'gyen; Satō: skyen; Richardson I,II: nyen

50) Lo: leg btsan. Lines 39-40 according to Waddell: rgyal cib chen po zhal ce don la gi zhang blon rgyal chen lan btsan

Text I

Text of the South Face Inscription

1. // rgya chen po'i blon po che phra[1] mjal dum gyi
2. gtsigs[2] 'dzin[3] pa la[4] gtogs pa'i thabs
3. dang mying /rus la/ //[5]

大 相 好 立 寨
唐 等 登 盟 名
宰 和 壇 官 位

4. /// rgya/[6] chen po'i[7] chab srid kyi blon po chen /po/[8]
5. /bka/'[9] la gtogs pa'i thabs dang mying /rus //[10]

大 宰 同 軍 名
唐 相 平 事 位

6. / //jeng 'gi/[11] da'e pu zhi'u mun ha /zhi/[12] lang gi /thabs/[13]
7. yod pa bka'[14] chen po /la gtogs/ pa[15] - - -
8. .....

正 夫 侍 平 :
議 門 郎 童 :
大 下 同 事

9. // - - - /da/'e[16] pu zhi'u c'u/ng shu zhi lang gi thabs/[17]
10. yod pa bka'[18] chen po /la gtogs pa/ .....[19]

× 夫 侍 平 :
× 中 郎 童 :
大 書 同 事

11. // /tha/i[20] c'ung da'e pu[21] zhi'u c'u/ng shu zhi lang gi thabs/[22]
12. yod[23] pa bka' chen po la gto/gs pa/ 'wang pha //[24]

大 夫 侍 平 王
中 中 郎 童 播
大 書 同 事

13. // c'ung da'i̱ p'u[25] zhi̱'u zhang shu ho b'o[26] zhi̱[27] lang gi thabs[28]

14. yod pa bka' chen po la gtogs pa[29] d'o[30] 'gwan[31]

15) yweng[32] //

中書侍平杜
大户郎章元
夫部同事[穎]

16. // jeng 'gi̱ da'i[33] pu[34] peng bo[35] zhang shu thabs[36] yod

17. pa[37] bka' chen po la gtogs pa se'u 'b'en //[38]

正大兵尚蕭
議夫部書俛

13)

18. // rgya chen po'i[39] blon po phal gyi̱ thabs dang myi̱ng

19. [rus] //[40]

大諸寀壇名
唐寮登者位

20. // ki̱m ts'i̱[41] kwang log da'e[42] phu[43] zhang shu dza b'og[44] ya'i[45]

21. [tha]bs[46] yod pa han ka'u //

金祿尚僕臯
[紫]大書射
[光]夫左韓

22. // je'u[47] 'gi̱ lang 'gu shi̱ cung shi̱ng gi thabs yod [pa][48]

abs]22)

23. 'gi̱'u[49] sing zhu //

[朝]郎史丞僧
[議]御中牛豬

Text I

24. // tha'i̱[50] cung da'i̱ pu[51] k'em ke'u[52] zhang shu tsa bog ya[53] li[54]

25. ⌊bo⌋[55] zhang shu thabs yod pa li k'ang[56] //

大尚僕吏書
中書射部李
大夫右兼尚絳

26. // 'gi̱n[57] tsheng kwang log da'i̱ ph'u[58] ho bo[59] zhang ⌊shu⌋[60]

27. ⌊thab⌋s[61] yod[62] pa yang u[63] ling //

銀祿户書〔於〕
青大部楊陵〕
光夫尚

28. // thong g'i̱[64] da'e p'u[65] sh'i̱'u l'e'i bo[66] zhang ⌊shu thabs⌋[67]

29. yod pa 'wu'i̱[68] zhi̱'u //

通大禮尚韋
議夫部書緩〕

30. // 'gi̱n tsheng[69] kwang[70] log da'i̱[71] pu[72] kem ke'u ⌊zhang

31. shu⌋[73] tsa b'og[74] ya[75] kyam tha'i[75a] shang keng[76] gi̱ thabs yod pa[77]

32. - -'u[78] tsong zhu //

〔銀大右太宗
青夫僕常儒
光尚射卿
祿〕書薰趙

33. ⌊// tha'i cung⌋[79] da'i̱ p'u le'i b'o[80] zhang shu - - - -[81]

34. - - - - - ⌊yo⌋d[82] pa // b'e'i̱[83] bu //

太夫尚司裴
中禮書農武
大部〔薰〕卿

35. // jeng[84] gi da'e p'u[85] zhi'u[86] keng ce'u[86a] yun kyam 'gu /shi/[87]

36. /da/'e[88] p'u[89] thabs yod pa li'u kong[90] cag //

正 夫 尹 史 柳
議 京 薦 大 公
大 [兆] 御 夫 綽

37. // 'gin tsheng kwang log da'e p'u[91] kem ke'u kong[92] bo[93] /zhang/[94]

38. /shu/[95] kyam tsa kim 'go 'we'i da'i tsang[96] kun gyi thabs /yod/[97]

39. pa kwag tshung[98] //

銀 大 尚 金 將
青 夫 [書] 吾 軍
光 工 [薦] 衛 [郭]
[祿] 部 右 大 [鏦]

40. // ..... kyam 'gu shi da'e

41. /pu thabs yod pa/ li'u 'gwan teng //[99]

× [夫] 卿 史 劉
× 大 薦 大 元
大 [理] 御 夫 鼎

42. /// je/'u[100] 'gi lang zhi'u[101] zhang shu dza s'i[102] lang cung kyam /'gu/[103]

43. /shi/[104] cung shing gi thabs yod pa li'u shi la'u //[105]

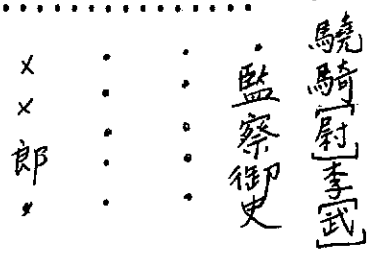
朝 尚 [郎] 史 師
[議] [書] 中 [中] 老
[郎] 司 [御] 丞 劉

Text I

44. .....

45. .....

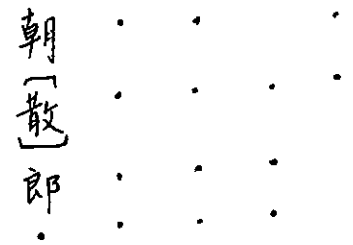
46. .....[106]



47. // je'u san[107] [lang] keng ce-u .....

48. .....

49. ...../[108]



Notes to the South Face Text

1) Satō: phra(n); Richardson I: phra'; Richardson III: phra //

2) Satō: gcɨgs

3) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: 'dzɨn

4) Satō: phal

5) Richardson I: (d)ang myɨ(ng rus la //); Richardson III, Wang: dang myɨng rus la //

6) Richardson III, Wang: rgya

7) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: po'ɨ

8) Richardson I: (chen po); Richardson II,III; Wang: chen po

9) Richardson I,II: (bka'); Richardson III, Wang: bka'

10) Richardson III, Wang: rus //

11) Satō: (/)/ 'jeng ('gi); Richardson I: ....; Richardson III, Wang: // jeng 'gɨ

12) Satō: mun ha shɨ; Richardson I: (cung hwa); Richardson III, Wang: mun ha zhi

13) Richardson I: ...-u-...-g...; Richardson II: (lang gɨ thabs); Richardson III, Wang: lang gi thabs

14) Richardson I: ...(bka'); Richardson II: (yod pa) bka'

15) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: la gtogs pa

16) Satō: -ng; Richardson I: (da'e); Richardson II,III; Wang: da'e

17) Satō: c'u (shu shɨ lang gɨ thabs); Richardson I:

cu(ng)....; Richardson II: cung (shu shi lang gi thabs); Richardson III, Wang: cung shu zhi lang gi thabs

18) Richardson I: ...(bka')

19) Richardson II: la (gdogs pa)...; Richardson II: (la gtogs pa...//); Richardson III, Wang: la gtogs pa....

20) Richardson III, Wang: tha'i

21) Lo: da'i phu; Satō: da'e phu; Richardson I: shi c'ung da'e pu

22) Satō: c'u (shu shi lang gi thabs); Richardson I: c'u(ng)...(tha)bs; Richardson III, Wang: cung shu shi lang gi thabs

23) Satō: (yod); Richardson I: (yo)d

24) Richardson I: gdogs (pa)....pha //; Richardson II: gtogs pa // 'ang pha //; Richardson III, Wang: gtogs pa 'wang pha //

25) Lo: phu; Richardson I: c'ung d'a'i p'u; Richardson II: c'ung da'i pu; Richardson III: c'ung da'e p'u

26) Lo: pa; Satō: bo

27) Satō: Shi; Richardson I: zh'a; Wang: zhi; Richardson III: zh'i

28) Richardson I: ...thabs; Richardson II: (lang gi) thabs

29) Richardson I: (pa)

30) Satō: to

31) Richardson I: ....; Richardson II: d'o ('gwan)

32) Satō: ywang; Richardson I: l'ang

33) Wang: da'e

34) Lo, Satō: phu

35) Lo: po

36) Richardson I: //....'gɨ (da'e pu)...b'o...(thabs); Richardson II: // (jeng) 'gi da'i pu peng b'o zhang shu (thabs)

37) Richardson I: (pa)

38) Richardson I: gtogs pa ....-n //

39) Richardson I: po'ɨ

40) Richardson I: (rus //); Richardson III, Wang: rus

41) Lo: tse'; Satō: c'i; Richardson I: ts'a

42) Lo: da'ɨ

43) Richardson I,II,III: pu

44) Richardson I: b'o ga

45) Lo: ye...; Satō: y(e)'(i); Richardson I: li'

46) Richardson I: (thab)s; Richardson II,III; Wang: thabs

47) Satō: the'u; Richardson I: ...-u; Richardson II: (je)'u

48) Richardson III, Wang: pa

49) Richardson I: 'ga'u

50) Richardson I: -'ɨ; Richardson II: (tha)'ɨ

51) Lo, Satō: phu

52) Satō: g'em ge'u; Richardson I: g'em le'u

53) Lo, Satō: ye

54) Richardson I: ∅; Richardson II: (li); Richardson III: li

55) Richardson I: ....

56) Satō: k'a; Richardson I: k'a'a

57) Lo: kɨm

58) Lo: phu

Text I

59) Lo: po; Richardson I: do po

60) Richardson III, Wang: shu

61) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: thabs

62) Richardson I: yi̱d

63) Lo: yu

64) Richardson I: gi̱; Wang: 'g'i̱

65) Lo: da'i̱ phu

66) Lo: le'i po: Richardson I: l'e'i b'o

67) Richardson I: shu (thabs); Richardson III, Wang: shu thabs

68) Richardson I: 'bu'i̱; Richardson II: wu'i̱

69) Lo: kim tsheng; Richardson I,II,III: 'gi̱n tseng; Wang: 'gi̱n tsheng

70) Richardson I,II,III: kwag

71) Wang: da'e

72) Lo: phu

73) Satō: no emendation; Richardson I: (...sh'u); Richardson III, Wang: zhang shu

74) Richardson I,II,III: bog

75) Lo: ye

75a) Richardson II,III: tha'i̱

76) Lo: kheng

77) Richardson I,II: (pa)

78) Richardson I: (ca)'u; Richardson II,III; Wang: ca'u

79) Richardson I: tha('i cong); Richardson II,III; Wang: tha'i cung

80) Lo: po; Richardson I: p'o

81) Richardson I,II,III: kyam...; Wang: kyam

82) Richardson I,II: (thabs) yod; Richardson III: thabs yod; Wang: ...keng gi thabs yod

83) Lo: be'ɨ; Richardson I: b'a'ɨ

84) Richardson I: -eng

85) Lo: 'gi da'ɨ phu; Wang: 'gɨ da'e p'u

86) Satō: shɨ'u

86a) Richardson III: tsa'u

87) Satō: shu; Richardson II,III; Wang: shi

88) Lo: da'i; Richardson I,II; Wang: da'e

89) Lo: phu

90) Richardson I: gong

91) Lo: da'i phu; Richardson I: da'e ..-'u

92) Satō: kem ge'u gong; Richardson I: kam ke'u kong; Richardson II,III: kem k'e'u kong

93) Lo: po; Richardson I,II,III: b'o

94) Richardson I: ....; Richardson III, Wang: zhang

95) Richardson I: ....; Richardson III, Wang: shu

96) Satō: 'go we'ɨ da'ɨ cang; Richardson I: ...-'ɨ da'ɨ cang; Richardson III: tsa

97) Richardson I,II,III; Wang: yod

98) Richardson I,II: chung

99) Lines 40-41. Richardson I: dza'u ceng da'e (pu'i sha da'ɨ pu) -ng kyam 'gu shɨ da ...kyam...(tsa pa) // la'u 'kwan cheng //; Richardson II: je'u -ng da'e pu ...cung kyam 'gu shɨ da'e (pu thabs yod pa) // li'u 'gwan teng //; Wang: je'u ceng da'e pu zhɨ'u da'ɨ li keng kyam 'gu shi da'i p'u thabs yod pa li'u 'gwan teng; Richardson III: // je'u 'gi lang ....da'ɨ pu

Text I

...kyam 'gu shɨ da'e pu thabs yod pa // li'u 'gan teng //

100) Satō: the'u; Richardson III, Wang: je'u

101) Satō: shi'u

102) Satō: tsa ..-i

103) Richardson III, Wang: 'gu

104) Satō: shu; Richardson III, Wang: shi

105) Lines 42-43 according to Richardson I: (dza)'u 'gal da'ɨ pu zhang shu dza sɨ ..-ng zhung kyam '-... zhung shing gɨ thabs yong pa le'u shɨ la'u //

106) Lines 44-46: Richardson I: cɨng zhɨ -nge- cung keng zhang shu kwag log -zhi ... cang.. (da'e p'u) -i- (thabs) yod pa lɨ...; Richardson II: cing .... zhang shu .... yod pa li; Wang: cɨng zhɨ de'e cung keng zhang shu kwag long .. zhɨ .. cang ... da'e p'u ... thabs yod pa li; Richardson III: cing zhɨ ..... zhang shu ..... yod pa lɨ ...

107) Satō: the'u

108) Lines 47-49. Richardson I: (// dza)'u ceng (da'e p'u) zheng ...-u-... ng ... ko ... kyam; Richardson II: (// je)'u san ... keng .... ko ...; Wang: je'u san lang keng ce'u ... zheng ... -u- ... ko ... kyam ...; Richardson III: je'u san keng .... ko

Chinese Text of the West Face

1. 大唐文武孝德皇帝〔與〕　大蕃聖神贊
〔普〕　舅甥二主商議社禝如一結立大
和盟約永無淪替神人俱以證知世世代代
使其稱贊是以盟文節目題之於碑也

2. 文武孝德皇帝與 。。。。。。。。。。
〔贊陛下二聖舅甥濬哲〕鴻被曉今永之屯
亨矜愍之情　恩覆其無內外商議叶同
務令萬姓安泰所思如一成久遠大善再續
慈親之情重申隣好之義爲此大和矣今

3. 蕃漢二國所〔守〕見〔管〕。。。。。。。。
。已西盡是大蕃境土彼此不爲寇敵不舉
兵革不相侵謀封境　或有猜阻捉生問
事訖給以衣粮放歸　今社禝叶同如一
爲此大和然　舅甥相好之義善 。

4. 每須通傳彼此相騎一。。。。。。。。
。〔舊路〕蕃漢並於將軍谷交馬其綏戎柵
已東大唐祇應清水縣已西大蕃供應須合
舅甥親近之禮使其兩界煙塵不揚罔聞寇
盜之名復無驚恐之患封人撤備鄉土俱

5. 安如斯樂業之。。。。。。。。〔美之〕
。〔遍〕於日月所照矣蕃於蕃國受安漢亦
漢國受樂茲乃合其大業耳依此盟誓永久
不得移易。三寶及諸賢聖日月星辰請爲
知證如此盟約各自契陳刑牲爲盟設此大

6. 約儻不依此誓蕃漢〔君臣〕。。。。。。
禍也仍須讎 。及爲陰謀者不在破盟
之限　蕃漢君臣並稽告立誓周細爲
文　二君之驗證以官印登壇之臣親署
姓名 。。如斯誓文藏於王庫焉

Text I

Translation of the West Face Inscription

1-11 The great ruler of Tibet, the God Incarnate, btsan-po, and the great ruler of China, the Chinese Emperor Hwang-te, both the Nephew and the Uncle, have conferred together (and agreed) that their government be as one, and made a great peace. In order that the treaty they made may never change, it has been made known to, and witnessed by, all gods and men. [Inscribed] on the long stone are the main terms of [the peace treaty] which will be held in praise for generations and generations.

12-26 The God Incarnate [btsan-po Khri-gtsug-]lde-brtsan's --- the Chinese Emperor B'un-b'u He'u-tig [Hwang-te --- the Nephew] and the Uncle both ----- any good or evil of the present or the time to come. With great compassion they do not discriminate between the interior and the exterior in protecting (the people) with their favors. They concur in the intention that all people shall be made happy. Their councils agree on the (great:) noble intention of an everlasting good (i.e. peace). After they have conferred (and agreed) that respect between the relatives of long standing [shall be continued] and the happy neighborly [relationship] shall be strengthened, a great peace is made.

26-35 The two countries, Tibet and China, guard the land and the frontier now in their possession. All to the east of that (frontier) is the land of Great China, and all to the west is indeed the land of Great Tibet. Thereafter both sides shall not struggle like enemies, shall not lead armies into war, and shall not invade and seize each other's territory. If there is any suspected person, after having seized the person and made an investigation, and (if innocent) having provided him (with food, clothing, etc.), one shall send him back.

36-46 Now as the governments become one and a great peace is thus made, it is necessary to (communicate with:) greet (each other) with good tidings wherein the Nephew and the Uncle rejoice. The emissaries from either side, having followed the old route in proceeding on the journey, shall be in accordance with the former custom. Between the two countries, China and Tibet, they will change horses at Tsang-kun-yog and meet the Chinese at Stse-zhung-cheg, below which (i.e. to the east) the Chinese shall honor them (i.e. provide them with necessary supplies for their journey and their sojourn in China). They meet the Tibetans at Tseng-shu-hywan, above which (i.e. to the west) the Tibetans shall honor them.

47-58 In accordance with the proper custom between the Nephew and the Uncle who are close and dear, it shall be done with honor and respect. Between the two countries

smoke and dust (i.e. warfare) shall not appear. The names (words) of hatred and enmity shall not be uttered all of a sudden. The people guarding the boundary and those above them (i.e. their superiors) may be without fear and alarm, and in every country and quarter precaution (defense) may be removed. The people shall live happily. The benevolence (of the rulers) will be found through ten thousand generations and the words of praise will penetrate any place which is reached by the sun and the moon.

58-66 After the great governments under which the Tibetans are happy in the Tibetan land and the Chinese are happy in the Chinese land are united, a treaty that is made like this may never change. May we invoke the Three Jewels, the various saints, the sun and the moon, and the planets and stars as witnesses. Having been declared by the solemn words, after the animals have been sacrificed and the oath has been sworn, the treaty is made.

67-70 If one does not act according to, or violates, this treaty, it does not matter whether it is Tibet or China who first threatens to commit an offense, any trick and treachery may even be resorted to in retaliation. It (retaliation) does not appertain to violating the treaty.

71-77 Thus the sovereigns and the ministers of both Tibet and China together declared and swore an oath. After the text of the treaty was accurately written, the two great

rulers affixed their seals. It was signed by the various officials who participated in concluding the treaty. The treaty document was preserved in the treasury.

Notes to the West Face Translation

2. 'Phrul-gyi lha "God Incarnate" is a regular epithet of the Tibetan kings and apparently refers to the tradition that the first Tibetan king had been a god in heaven transformed into a ruler of men. The common phrase used with minor variations to denote this tradition is, as in E. 8 gnam-gyi lha-las myi'i rgyal-por gshegs-te "he came from among the gods to become the ruler of men." The epithet corresponds in the Chinese version to the words sheng 聖 and shen 神 , which are also common epithets of the T'ang emperors. A variant form of this is lha-'phrul "Divine Incarnation" (cf. E. 34), and another common epithet is lha-sras "Divine Son, Son of the Gods." The late Professor P. Demiéville (1952:363-364) held that 'phrul-gyi lha and lha-sras are borrowed from T'ang titles, and Stein (1973; 1981a) has developed at some length the idea that 'phrul-gyi lha is an adaptation of Chinese sheng-shen. However Francke's translation "God Incarnate" is retained here, because I continue to believe that the term 'phrul refers to the magic or divine power through which, it was thought, the early Tibetan kings, though actually gods, had been transformed bodily into human beings. (FKL)

The expressions 'phrul-gyi lha and lha-'phrul are both attributive plus noun head constructions. As variants, they exploit the fact that in Tibetan, as in many Tibeto-Burman

languages, a qualifying element may be directly postposed to a noun head or preposed and marked with a genitive/attributive morpheme. A satisfactory translation of the Tibetan terms should, if possible, reflect the structure of the original; and for this reason "saint et divin" by which Stein (1981a) translates the Chinese coordinate compound sheng-shen 聖神 cannot, as it stands, be an adequate rendering of the Tibetan terms. That 'phrul refers to extraordinary, superhuman, or magical qualities or powers of some sort seems to be generally accepted (cf. Macdonald 1971:335-339). Whether or not we can specify what these powers were thought to be at various periods seems uncertain to me. Macdonald (loc. cit.) has held that superhuman intellectual powers are implied, at least for the historical kings; and Richardson (1985:39, n. 2) feels that this is confirmed by Stein's comparisons with the Chinese word sheng "sage" as a title for the Chinese emperors. It should be noted, however, that though "sage", implying sagacity to Western readers, is the usual English translation for Chinese sheng, the semantic range of the word is actually much broader than this in literary Chinese, especially from late Chou and Han times on, and encompasses a whole range of extraordinary qualities and abilities. (Note Stein's preference for "saint" as the French rendering.) For 'phrul-gyi lha and lha-'phrul I prefer the translation "god of supernatural qualities" and shall use this or variations on it when these terms recur in Texts V, VII, IX, and XIV. (WSC)

Text I

Btsan-po is the title of the Tibetan ruler and is regularly transcribed in the Chinese records as tsan-p'u 贊普 (tsân- phuo:). HTS (216a/1) gives an etymology for this title: tsan "mighty" 彊雄 and p'u "male, hero" 丈夫 ; but in this inscription the word mighty is consistently written as brtsan, never as btsan, and the two are in fact scrupulously distinguished here. Elsewhere in the corpus it is only in Text VI (line 19) that btsan is found in place of the expected brtsan, and even here we find that Richardson's restored version of the text reads brtan, following the copy of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu. There are thus no clear cases of confusion between btsan and brtsan in the inscriptions. The Tun-huang documents are sometimes inconsistent in this regard, but they are often at variance with Tibetan orthography and may indicate dialect variations. Modern dictionaries do not give the form brtsan. In conclusion, it seems clear that btsan and brtsan were distinct words in OT, though perhaps etymologically related. Wang (1982:44) suggests that btsan-po is to be associated with btsan, a type of spirit or god in the indigenous religion, and this idea is worthy of further study. Cf. also Haarh (1969:136).

3. Rgya-rje is a designation in this inscription and some early documents for the Chinese Emperor and is therefore so translated.

4. Dbon-zhang refers to China as the Uncle and Tibet as the Nephew. The Chinese equivalents are chiu 舅 for

zhang and sheng 甥舅 for dbon. The term as applied here to designate the relationship between China and Tibet evidently refers to the marriages of two Chinese princesses to the Tibetan kings. Another country known to have had the relationship of Nephew and Uncle with China was T'u-yü-hun (HTS 2k6a/14b). But Chinese princesses were married to many other tribal chiefs without this designation, and it remains uncertain why it was applied specially to the Tibetans and the T'u-yü-hun. For a recent review of the problem, see Uebach (1979:304-305).

5. Mjal-dum chen-po is rendered by ta ho 大和 "great peace", cf. also W. 25, 36-7. Thus, mjal-dum means either "peace" or "peace-making". The two words are also separately used, mjald-ching 'dum-bar mdzad "conferred and made peace" (E. 37).

6. Gtsigs is variously translated by the Chinese words meng-yüeh 盟約 (W. 6), meng-shih 盟誓 (W. 60), yüeh 約 (W. 66), shih 誓 (W. 67), and meng 盟 (W. 79), meaning "sworn treaty, treaty, oath, etc." It means essentially "treaty" or "document" in general, and is etymologically related to tshig, with prefix g- and suffix -s. Cf. mjal-dum-gyi gtsigs "peace treaty" (N. 1-2, S. 1-2); gtsigs-kyi yi-ge "the text of the treaty, the treaty document", translated by wen 文 (W. 72) and by shih-wen 誓文 (W. 76-77); gtsigs bshig-pa "to violate the treaty", translated by p'o meng 破盟 (W. 70), bka'-gtsigs "edict" (Tucci 1950:

44); etc. Various uses of the word gtsigs in early texts have been reviewed by Uebach (1985:53-55).

7. Nam-zhar "ever, forever", Chinese equivalent yung 永 or yung-chiu 永久 (W. 61); used with the negative myi, "never". It occurs in many old inscriptions and documents and is listed in Chos-grags, p. 465.

9. Tshe-tshe-[rabs-rab]s is a distributive plural formed by reduplication of the compound tshe-rabs "generation" and corresponds to the Chinese phrase shih-shih-dai-dai 世世代代 "generations and generations".

10. [Mjal-dum-gyi gtsigs]: The emendation of the text which is entirely obliterated here is based on the Chinese version which has meng-wen 盟文 "the treaty document". This Tibetan phrase appears elsewhere in the inscription (N. 1-2; S. 1-2). Rendered very literally, the Chinese version of the entire passage may be translated as follows: "As to generations and generations, we cause that they shall praise; it is for this reason that, as to the terms of the treaty document, we have put them on the pillar."

11. Mdo which usually refers to the sūtra section of the Tripitaka has the connotation of both brevity and essence. The Chinese equivalent here is chieh-mu 節目 "items, terms". We have translated it as "the main terms".

12. The name of the Tibetan king is supplied from E. 1 and E. 51.

14. B'un-b'u He'u-tig [Hwang-te] is the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese title Wen-wu Hsiao-te Huang-ti 文武孝德皇帝 (mjwen mju: xau- tək ɣwâng tiei-), which the Chinese Emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗 (r. 820-824) assumed in the seventh month of 821, three months before the conclusion of the treaty (T'ang hui-yao, 1, p. 11).

21. Yun ring-por legs-pa'i don chen-po is rendered in Chinese by chiu-yüan ta shan 久遠大善 "a great everlasting good".

22. Bka'-gros "council, conference" probably refers to the specific councils held in the palace by order of the Emperor to negotiate the peace (cf. Li 1956a:59-60).

22-23. Gnyen rnying-pa'i sri-zhu ni... For this passage the Chinese version has tsai hsü tz'u-ch'in-chih ch'ing 再續慈親之情 "shall again continue the affections of loving relatives."

23. Khyim-tshes for modern khyim-mtshes "neighbor" is supported by lin-hao 隣好 "neighbor and friend" in the Chinese version.

24. Brtseg-par and its perfect form brtsegs occur three times in the inscription (W. 24, E. 27, E. 38). The fundamental meaning is "to pile one thing on top of the other." The implication here is that a good neighborly relationship had already existed between China and Tibet and that the rulers were interested in furthering or strengthening it. The Chinese equivalent ch'ung-shen 重申 "to renew or further" expresses essentially the same idea.

30. Yang-thag-par is perhaps the same as yang-dag-par "indeed, in reality," an emphatic expression.

31. De-las "thereafter". The Chinese inscription has nothing corresponding to this phrase. However, other versions of the treaty in Chinese historical works, e.g. CTS 196b/15a, Ts'e-fu 981/16 , etc., have here, contra Richardson (1978:154, n. 1), tzu chin erh hou 自今而後 "from now on," which has indeed been correctly rendered by various translators, e.g. Bushell (1880:517) "from this time henceforward" and Pelliot (1961:73) "désormais".

33. The form mrnam is strange and its meaning unknown. One may emend it to brnam, a future of some such verb as *rnom-pa, cf. snom-pa, pf. bsnams, fut. bsnam, imp. snom ~ snoms "to grasp, seize." The Chinese equivalent for this form is ch'in-mou 侵謀 "to acquire by raids or plots."

34. Myi-bzung is rendered by the Chinese phrase cho-sheng 捉生 "to capture alive," an expression not uncommon in the T'ang records, and gtam-dris by wen-shih 問事 "to investigate".

35. Brdzangs, perfect of rdzong-pa "to send, to dispatch presents, ambassadors". The fundamental meaning seems to be "to give something to take along with (Jäschke)", here expressly translated by the phrase chi i i-liang 給以衣糧 "to give, or to provide with, clothes and food (for a journey)".

39. 'Drul appears twice in our inscription, cf. E. 45, both read by Satō as 'dul, although the ra-btags seems quite obvious here. 'Drul is a verb used in connection with the exchange of good tidings and gifts through envoys. The preceding words (good tidings, gifts, etc.) are put in the agentive form (-s). The Chinese equivalent is t'ung-ch'uan 通傳 "to transmit, to communicate". It occurs also in Tun-huang manuscripts, and Bacot gives it the meaning of a noun "lettre ou courrier" (1940-6:197).

40-41. Lam rnying-pa "the old route" apparently refers to the route from the Tibetan territory, starting probably from Lan-chou, proceeding in a southeasterly direction, and following the river Wei-ho 渭河 to Ch'ing-shui hsien 清水縣. From there the road led into Chinese territory, crossing the Lung-shan Pass into Lung-chou, and

finally to Ch'ang-an. A route more or less similar is still given in modern maps. Cf. T'an 1982:40-41; 76-77.

42-43. Tsang-kun-yog, i.e. Chiang-chün-ku 將軍谷 (tsjang kywən jiwok), and Stse-zhung-cheg, i.e. Sui-jung-cha 綏戎柵 (swi ńźjung tshεk), are not identifiable geographically and are presumably names of places on the route from Ch'ing-shui hsien to the Lung-shan Pass. The former was apparently some sort of neutral territory, the latter a Chinese garrison town or fort. The reading of stse is doubtful, and one may suggest the reading sywe, which is very similar in shape to stse and is phonologically more compatible with the MC pronunciation.

44. Man-cad "below" is translated by i-tung 已東 "eastward", and in line 46 yan-cad is translated by i-hsi 已西 "westward". In the T'ang records the use of right and left for west and east are also common, showing a different preference.

44-45. Phu-dud bya "to honor, to do honor to" is rendered in Chinese by chih-ying 祇應 "to supply respectfully", and kung-ying 供應 "to provide", referring undoubtedly to the supplies and provisions necessary for the emissaries' journey.

45. Tseng-shu-hywan, i.e. Ch'ing-shui hsien 清水縣 (tshjäng świ: γiwen-), a district belonging to Ch'in-chou 秦州 in the T'ang period.

47. Nye-zhing gnyen "close and dear" illustrates the use of zhing connecting two parallel expressions and is rendered by, or perhaps is a rendering of, the Chinese compound ch'in-chin 親近 "dear and near, intimate".

47-49. Tshul and its Chinese equivalent li 禮 have the implication of an established custom or rite which is appropriate, correct, and proper. The statement "It shall be done with honor and respect" had a specific reference to an incident in which the Tibetan king felt insulted by the use of certain Chinese phrases. For further discussion of the incident, see Li (1956a:61).

50. Dud-rdul "smoke and dust" is a literal rendering of the Chinese compound yen-ch'en 煙塵, referring to disturbances usually caused by warfare.

52. The whole line can be literally translated as "from the people guarding the boundaries (inclusive) up", i.e. the superior officers and the border guards. The Chinese version is arranged in a different order for lines 52-54, probably because of style, but the expression feng-jen 封人 "people of the frontier, frontier guards" is intended as an equivalent of line 52.

54. Bag-brkyang is rendered by ch'e-pei 撤備 "to remove precautions, i.e. defensive measures". The expression bag-rkyong is defined in Chos-grags (p. 554) as "to be relaxed, at ease, free of anxiety."

56. Thob "to find, to come to" is quite appropriate here. The reading thog, as suggested by certain earlier scholars, is probably due to the sentence divider, a perpendicular line immediately after the final consonant -b, thus causing 乙| to be read 叮 .

57. Gnyi-zla "sun and moon" is a coordinate compound and also occurs in l. 63. The meaning of the prefix g- is unknown, perhaps a collective (?). The late Professor M. Lalou has pointed out that gnyi is rather common in Tun-huang documents (Li 1956a:98-99).

64-66. Tha-tshig-gi rnams-pas kyang bshad and mna' yang bor, while both refer to oath taking, must be slightly different in meaning, the former probably referring to the reading of the treaty oath, tu shih 讀誓 , and the latter to the consummation rituals. The Chinese version has for the former "such a sworn treaty each solemnly declares 如此盟約各自契陳 , and for the latter simply "to make a sworn treaty" 為盟 . The ceremony in 821 was briefly described as consisting of "such rituals as reading the oaths, sacrificing the victims, signing of names, returning to their places, ascending and descending, and

walking around, all of which was not disregarded."
有凡讀誓,刑牲,加書,復壞,陟降,周旋之禮,動無違者(CTS 196b/14b; Ts'e-fu 981/17a).

69. Dku-sgyu is apparently a coordinate compound of dku "artifice, cunning" and sgyu "artful, imposture"; the Chinese equivalent is yin-mou 陰謀 "secret schemes, conspiracy".

70. -la gtogs "to participate in, to be part of" occurs frequently in bka' (chen-po) la gtogs-pa "participating in the deliberations of state affairs", a title the Chinese equivalent of which is t'ung-p'ing chang-shih 同平章事, cf. N. 4-5, 7; S. 4-5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16; Tucci 1950:97, 103. The variant form -la gthogs occurs in the Tun-huang documents (Bacot 1940-6:110).

71. Rje-blon corresponds to Chinese chün-ch'en 君臣 "the prince(s) and the minister(s), the sovereign(s) and minister(s)".

71-72. Kha-cig, according to Dict. Thib.-Lat.-Franç., means "avec, ensemble, simul" and corresponds to the Chinese word ping 並 "together".

77. The last line is rather badly damaged, but the reading as suggested here is supported by such similar phraseology as gcig ni phyag-sbal-na bzhag-go (Tucci 1950:

97). Dkor-gyi phyag-sbal was most probably a place in the palace where treasures as well as important documents were kept, cf. Tucci 1950:82, n. 94. The Chinese equivalent seems to read wang-k'u 王庫 "royal treasury".

Translation of the East Face Inscription

1-4 The God Incarnate, btsan-po, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan and the Chinese Emperor B'un-b'u He'u-tig [Hwang-]te have conferred (and agreed) that their government be as one. The manner how the two, the [Uncle and the Nephew], made peace, and the [circumstances] under which the peace was made, are inscribed on the long stone.

5-13 The God Incarnate, btsan-po, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal, as far back as the emergence of the country and the beginning of the land...was the great ruler of Tibet. ...the center of...the source of the great river, the high country, the pure land....he came from among the gods in the sky to become the ruler of men. By his great knowledge he established...-'s reign by his good religious laws..., by his benevolent favors he united his internal friends, and ... he subdued his external enemies. The government grew greater and greater, and [his helmet (i.e. authority)] grew mightier and mightier. ...they would never change. The great ruler of eternal g-yung-drung of untarnished splendor prospered.

13-20 Because of that, Mon and India in the south, ...in the west, and Drug in the north were united, and so on. .... The God Incarnate, btsan-po's mighty helmet and ... no one did not respect. They were mutually pleased and his

orders ... were obeyed. In the east was China who was the ruler in the direction where...rises...of the great ocean. (She) was not like the other lho-bal ... As her religion was good and her knowledge great, she was ... an ally rivaling even with Tibet.

21-25 At first, since the Chinese Emperor Li had ascended the throne, twenty-three years elapsed in the reign of De'e Tang (i.e. the T'ang Dynasty). At the time after one generation of the Chinese ruler (i.e. in the reign of the second Emperor), the God Incarnate, btsan-po, Khri-srong-brtsan and the Chinese Emperor The'e-tsong B'un-bu Sheng Hwang-te (i.e. T'ai-tsung) conferred (and agreed) that their government be as one. In the year of Ceng-kwan (i.e. Cheng-kuan) the Princess Mun-sheng (i.e. Wen-ch'eng) was received in the court of the btsan-po (as bride).

25-29 Afterwards, the God Incarnate, btsan-po, Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan and the Chinese Emperor Sam-lang Kha'e-'gwan Sheng-b'un shin-b'u Hwang-te (i.e. Hsüan-tsung) conferred (and agreed) that their government be as one and strengthened their relationship. In the year of Keng-lung (i.e. Ching-lung), the Princess Kim-shing (i.e. Chin-ch'eng) was received in the court of the btsan-po (as bride). They became Uncle and Nephew, and they were happy.

29-34 Thereafter, although at times the officers of the border guards were bent upon mischief, yet they (the Tibetan

and Chinese rulers) acted according to the true spirit of their intimate relationship; and when matters became (big:) serious, at the time of the two (rulers), by means of military assistance benefit was effected; and (even) in cases where faults were committed by both sides cheerful attitudes (appearances) nevertheless were maintained without limit. Thus, as they were close and related, in the true manner of Nephew and Uncle a vow was made.

34-39 His Majesty the btsan-po, my father, the Divine Incarnation Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, because of his great profundity, was skillful and wise in any matter concerning religious administration, and, because of his kind favors, embraced the eight directions without the discrimination of the interior and exterior. While he conferred and made peace with all the rulers of the four borders, he would strengthen the relation with China in particular. As their countries were neighbors, he would be happier to have their government unified. The Uncle and Nephew agreed with each other in their thought that:

39-50 In conferring about a peace with the Chinese Emperor Zheng-shin B'un-b'u Hwang-te (i.e. Te-tsung), the old grudge was cleared and removed, but the new joy was (woven:) built up and continued. From that time on, between the one btsan-po, the Nephew, and the three generations of Chinese Emperors, the Uncles, there was no feeling of hatred. Cheerful respects were constantly paid to each other.

Text I

Through the esteemed envoys, exchanges were continuously made using polite messages and valuable treasures. The important terms of the peace, however, were not achieved so as to conclude a treaty. Even after the conference between the Uncle and the Nephew, arguments arose, stirred by misunderstandings. As the old disposition between them, the trifling fear was aroused, the intention of the great good (i. e. peace) became merely ... It was impossible not to resort to military measures and even to strong armies. Even though they turned to the ways of the enemy ..., still... for close and friendly relationship.

51-56 His Majesty, the God Incarnate, btsan-po, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, loves the supernatural ways in his mind and conforms to the gods' manners in his action. His great favors are distributed justly in the interior as well as in the exterior, his helmet is firm, and his orders are obeyed. (He and) the Chinese Emperor B'un-b'u He'u-tig Hwang-te, the Uncle and the Nephew, agree in their sublime thoughts, ...-'s government is like one. A great peace is made, about which both China and Tibet, inside and outside, are happy.

57-60 In China's territory, in the neighborhood of Sheg-sang-si, west of Keng-she (i.e. Ch'ang-an), on the tenth day of the first winter month in the Female-Iron-Ox year (821), the name of the year in Great Tibet being the seventh year of Skyid-rtag and the name of the year in Great China being

the first year of Cang-keng (i.e. Ch'ang-ch'ing), having ascended the altar, the treaty was concluded by the Chinese.

60-64 In Tibetan territory, in Sbra-stod-tshal, east of the Lhasa palace, on the sixth day of the midsummer month in the Male-Water-Tiger year (822), the name of the year in Great Tibet being the eighth year of Skyid-rtag and the name of the year in Great China being the second year of Cang-keng, having ascended the altar, the treaty was concluded by the Tibetans.

64-67 As to the terms of the treaty which are inscribed on the long stone, the words were inscribed on the long stone on the fourteenth day of the midspring month in the Female-Water-Hare year (823), the name of the year in Great Tibet being the ninth year of Skyid-rtag and the name of the year in Great China being the third year of Cang-keng.

68-71 As supervisors of the long stone, the Chinese envoys Do Tse'e (i.e. Tu Tsai), having the rank of 'gu ...., and ....., having ...., did .... This treaty-law was inscribed on the long stone ...

Text I

Notes to the East Face Translation

1. Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan is generally known in Tibetan histories as Ral-pa-can and in Chinese records as K'o-li-k'o-tsu 可黎可足 (khâ: liei khâ: tsjwok). His reign began in 815 according to dates given at the end of this inscription and ended in 838 according to Chinese records. For further discussion, see Li (1956a:66, n. 1).

5. 'O-lde-spu-rgyal was the legendary founder of the royal house in Tibet and was described as "coming from among the gods to become the ruler of men" (line 8 below). Text VI (lines 1-2) has a similar statement. HTS (216a/1a) says that the ancestor of the Tibetans was Hu-t'i-po-hsi-ye 鶻提勃悉野 (γuət diei buət sjet jia:) and therefore his descendants adopted the clan name Po-su-ye 勃窣野 (buət suət jia:). There is no doubt that Po-su (or: hsi)-ye is for Su-po-ye, a transcription of spu-rgyal (cf. CTS 196a/1a; Pelliot 1915:10) and that Hu-t'i-su (or: hsi)-po-ye is a transcription of 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao (p. 2624) correctly gives the names as 窣敎野 (suət buət jia:) and 鶻提悉補野 (γuət diei sjet puo: jia:). As this version of the name appears in the official inscriptions, we may safely assume that it represents the official tradition; for other traditions see Hoffmann (1950:149ff.); Bacot (1940-6:85-87). For further discussion see Haarh

(1960: Chap. 9) and Macdonald (1971:198-202). Alternate names for 'O-lde-spu-rgyal in early texts were Nya-gri Btsan-po and Nyag-khri Btsan-po. See note to Text IV. 4-5.

Yul byung sa dod tshun-cad: yul byung and sa dod are taken as coordinate and parallel constructions. Dod seems etymologically related to gdod-ma "the beginning" and dod-pa "to come out, to float up". Cf. Thomas' translation of the phrase, "as far as the origin of the land where the kingdom arose" (Thomas 1951:93, 99).

8-9. Gtsug-lag [chen-pos]ni: The emendation chen-pos is supported by similar expressions such as gtsug-lag che-bas (line 20 below) and gtsug-lag chen-po (Text VI, line 5). It is further parallel in construction to chos-khrims bzang-po in the same line. The OT uses of the term gtsug-lag have been discussed at great length by Macdonald (1971:339 ff.). Stein (1981b:169) describes it as referring in general to the entire body of pre-Buddhist religious belief and custom, especially where this served as the basis for royal power. Also, more specifically, it referred to statecraft, the art of the ruler. In the Tibetan Shang-shu paraphrase it refers to texts in which wisdom and traditions are preserved (Huang 1981). Later it came to be used in reference to the texts and traditions of Buddhism and certain other doctrines.

10. Nang-gi tshis "internal friends". Tshis is given in Das' dictionary in the expression tshis-su = grogs-su "in friendship". That it means "friends" is supported by the

parallel but antithetical expression in the next line phyi'i dgra "external enemies". Richardson (1969a) reads our tshis as chis and gives an illuminating discussion of the use of the word chis in early texts. It is interesting to note, however, that the text version of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu reads tshis rather than chis here (Richardson 1978:143, n. 1)! Cf. Text VIII, line 27 and Text IX, line 51. (FKL)

In addressing the tshis/chis question we must begin by separating the epigraphical problem from the philological one. Paleographically, the question is whether to read tshis or chis in the inscription. All published rubbings are ambiguous at this point. Richardson (1952:58, n. 10) suggests that either chis or tshis is possible. As noted above, Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu read tshis. Paleographically then, chis and tshis seem to be equally possible readings here. Philologically, if the reading is chis, then Richardson's suggestion that this word means "administration, management, affairs" (1969a), now supported by a further study of Imaeda (1979), can be accepted, thus, "By his benevolent grace he arranged the internal affairs." But what if the correct reading is tshis? As noted above, Das gives the equivalence tshis-su=grogs-su "in friendship". His textual support for this is the line thams-cad-nas khyod-kyi tshis-su ci 'gro-byed, which is attributed to the A-ti-sha'i nam-thar (133). This work is not accessible to me, and I hesitate to attempt a translation of the line without having seen it in context. But it is significant that tshis here appears in the expression tshis-su 'gro, about which more anon. The older

dictionary entries on tshis are vague, leading to Richardson's interesting discussion of the word's use in various WT historical texts (1969a). More recently Bod-Rgya's entries on tshis (p. 2275) are easier to interpret. One of these glosses it as thabs "way, means, measure". The Chinese glosses help us to clarify this, i.e. fang-fa 方法 "way, method"; pan-fa 辦法 "method, recourse"; and chi-ts'e 計策 "device, plan, policy". As an accompanying example we are given the compound 'tsho-tshis, which the Chinese defines as "livelihood, plan for living". The related compound so-tshis is elsewhere defined by Bod-Rgya (p. 2956) as an archaic form of 'tsho-tshis. Another compound, mentioned by Richardson, is spyi-tshis, and this is glossed in Bod-Rgya (p. 1678) as "public matters, affairs which are of concern to everybody". It seems very probable that tshis "method, plan, policy" is cognate to rtsis "numeration, calculation; scheme", as suggested by Jäschke and Richardson. Another meaning listed by Bod-Rgya for tshis is phan-grogs, for which, in turn, two glosses are given (p. 1702): 1) aid, help, a helpful measure, etc., and 2) a beneficial friend. The Chinese definitions of tshis here enable us to choose the intended meaning of the Tibetan gloss. They are chu-i 助益 "an aid, a benefit" and pang-chu 幫助 "a help". The illustrative example for this use of tshis is most interesting: mthun-rkyen de rigs tshang-ma khyod-kyi tshis-su 'gro nges yin-pa. The Chinese translation of this line is na-hsie t'iao-chien tou tui ni k'en-ting yu hao-ch'u 那些條件都对你肯定有好處 "Those conditions all

definitely are advantageous to you." The Tibetan sentence can thus be rendered as "All those circumstances definitely (go to your aid:) are helpful to you." Thus, in the idiom tshis-su 'gro "(go as help, go to the aid of:) to be helpful to, beneficial to", cited in Das' original example, tshis actually has the sense "aid, help, benefit." Now it seems probable that this meaning for tshis is actually a semantic specialization of the basic sense "way, method, recourse, plan", i.e. "a good way, a satisfactory recourse, a helpful expedient, etc." There seems to be no unambiguous evidence that tshis ever has the meaning "friend" in WT texts; and if it does, it should presumably be in the very specific sense of "helpmate" rather than of "cherished companion, intimate, comrade, etc." In conclusion, if we read tshis in our line, then we should translate: "By his benevolent grace he arranged the internal policies." Interestingly, this brings us very close to the sense obtained when reading chis and calls to mind Richardson's suggestion of an historical relationship between chis and tshis. This is a problem which requires further study in my opinion. (WSC)

11-12. Phyir-zhing and the polite form slar-zhing mean "more, more and more". Dbu-rmog is supplied here because of the common phrase dbu-rmog brtsan (E. 16, 53 and also in Tunhuang documents), and also because of the polite form slar-zhing which must refer here to the king. The language of the present passage is very similar to that of Text VI, lines 4-5, indicating that the two texts are from the same period.

12. Nam-zhar -ug myi 'gyur: nam-zhar myi 'gyur "it may never change" is a common expression (W. 7, 61). Here we may compare a similar phrase from Text VI, lines 2-3: chos-lugs bzang-po ni gzhar gtsug myi 'gyur "As to good customs (grounded) in the (eternal) laws, never did the principles of his statecraft change." On gtsug "(principles of) statecraft", see Text VI. 3, note.

12-13. Byin [myi] [nya]m[s pa]'i is emended on the basis of Text VI, line 4: byin myi nyam-ste "never was its splendor damaged". Cf. also a cognate, mnyam: lha'i lugs ma mnyam-ste "did not spoil the god's ways" (Thomas 1951: 93). This mnyam would seem to be an old perfect of nyams-pa, derived perhaps from *bnyam.

13. The oldest indigenous sense of the word g-yung-drung seems to have been "firm, unbreakable, immutable, eternal". For its adaptations in the earliest Buddhist translations see Stein (1983:169-170). For its use in texts of the Bon religion, see Karmay (1972:352, index).

14. The term Drug or Dru-gu was used in reference to Turkic peoples. According to Ligeti (1971:173-174) it could refer either to the Turks or the Uigurs, but in the twenties of the ninth century it stood for the Uigurs specifically; cf. also Szerb (1983:376-377, n. 13).

Text I

15. La stsogs-pa = la sogs-pa, as is common in OT texts.

19. Lho-bal gzhan dang myi 'dra: The construction of this phrase is identical to that of Text V, lines 17-18: mtha'-bzhi'i rgyal-po gzhan dang myi 'dra-ste "being unlike the other kings of the four borders." We must therefore translate here: "unlike the other lho-bal". Lho-bal was earlier usually taken to mean the same as Bal-po "Nepal" (cf. Tucci 1950:47; Richardson 1952:60; Li 1956a:63, 67); but "unlike the other Nepals" can hardly be the sense here. The term lho-bal has been extensively discussed by Stein (1981a:251, n. 51; 1983:205-207) who cites a number of OT text examples where this word seems to refer to "barbarians" in general. Interestingly, one of Richardson's earlier informants insisted on the meaning lho-pa "savages" for lho-bal in our passage (Richardson 1952:64, n. 18). In the end, Stein may well be correct in translating here: "la Chine n'est pas comme les autres barbares" (1983:206).

21. Rgyal-sar zhugs "ascended the throne": the first emperor of the T'ang dynasty ascended the throne in 618. It would have been 641 after twenty-three years had elapsed. This is the date given by the Chinese records for the marriage of Princess Wen-ch'eng 文成公主 to the Tibetan king (CTS 3/7a).

23. The name Khri-srong-brtsan is generally transcribed in Chinese as Ch'i-tsung-lung-tsan 棄宗弄贊 (khi-tsuong lung tsân-). A different reading Ch'i-sung-lung-tsan 棄宋弄贊 (khi- suong- lung- tsân-) (Ts'e-fu 961/17a), or 棄宋弄讚 (khi- suong- lung- tsân-) (T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 798/2b), would be phonologically more appropriate. The characters tsung 宗 and sung 宋 are very similar in shape and can be easily confused. There is no reliable information about the time this Tibetan king ascended the throne, but one Chinese source states that he did so in 634 and that the Chinese emperor sent greetings to him through a traveler (Ts'e-fu 978/20a). CTS and HTS merely record that Tibet sent a mission to the Chinese court in 634, but say nothing about his enthronement. He died in 649 (Bacot 1940-6:29) but according to all Chinese sources in 650, which is presumably the date his death was reported.

The'e-tsong b'un-bu sheng hwang-te, i.e. T'ai-tsung wen-wu sheng huang-ti 太宗文武聖皇帝 (thâi- tsuong mjuen mju śjäng- ɣwâng tiei-) (r. 629-649). This title was posthumously given him by his son, Emperor Kao-tsung, in 674 (T'ang hui-yao 1, p. 3).

24. Ceng-kwan-gyi lo-la, i.e. the fifteenth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (ʈjäng kuân) (641). One Tun-huang document gives the date as the Dog year (638) for the marriage of Princess Wen-ch'eng (Thomas 1951:8-12), thus disagreeing with another document (Bacot 1940-46:29). It seems that

there was already some confusion about the dates in these documents.

25. Khri-lde-[gtsug]-brtsan, transcribed in Chinese as Ch'i-li shu-tsan 棄隸蹜贊 (khi- liei- sjuk tsân-), ascended the throne when he was seven years of age after a long dispute about the succession (Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 207/40; Ts'e-fu 966/11b). The date given for his enthronement is inconsistent in the various Chinese records, but the Tun-huang documents give 704 as the date for his father's death and 712 as the date when he changed his name from Rgyal-gtsug-ru to Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan (Bacot 1940-6:21, 43). He married the Chinese Princess Chin-ch'eng 金城公主 in 710, and died in 755.

26. Sam-lang kha'e-'gwan sheng-b'un shin-b'u hwang-te, i.e. San-lang K'ai-yuan sheng-wen shen-wu huang-ti 三郎開元聖文神武皇帝 (sâm lâng khậ ngjwɐn śjäng-mjuɐn dźjen mju ɣwâng tiei-) (r. 713-756). This was the famous T'ang Emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗, who was the third son of Jui-tsung 睿宗 and assumed the title K'ai-yuan sheng-wen shen-wu huang-ti in 739 (T'ang hui-yao, 1, p. 6). It is curious to observe here that Sam-lang, apparently a pet name known to the Tibetans through Princess Chin-ch'eng, was added in Tibet to his official title, cf. rgya-rje ni bsam-lang zhig (Bacot 1940-6:122). Jui-tsung apparently actually used the term San-lang in referring to his son (the later Hsüan-tsung). For an example, see Wang (1982:58-9).

27. Keng-lung-gi lo-la, i.e. the fourth year of Ching-lung 景龍 (kjɐng: ljwong) (710). This was the last year of the reign of Chung-tsung 中宗 (r. 705-710), who was succeeded by his brother Jui-tsung (r. 710-712). Thus the marriage of the princess had nothing to do officially with Hsüan-tsung, who succeeded Jui-tsung. The fact that the Tibetans attributed this marriage to the effort of Hsüan-tsung probably had its origin in that he was already a powerful figure in the last years of Chung-tsung and plotted to put on the throne his father Jui-tsung, who soon abdicated in his favor in 712 (CTS 8/2b-4a).

28. Dbon-zhang-du gyur "they became Uncle and Nephew": This statement refers to the time when the Chinese and the Tibetan rulers first became officially known as the Uncle and the Nephew, perhaps since 714, cf. W. 4, note.

29-30. The border warfare between Tibet and China at that time was generally attributed to the faults of the commanders at the frontier (CTS 196a/8a-b), and was declared to be so, as in this inscription, by both the Tibetan and Chinese rulers (HTS 216a/10a; Ts'e-fu 979/11b; cf. Demiéville 1952:227-228).

30. Rgnul: the known senses of this word are "sweat" or "to sweat". It occurs again in line 49 below; and, as noted earlier (1956a:68) it seems from context to have a sense of "to resort to, to be engaged in." Richardson

(1978:147, n. 9) states that Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu glosses rngul as brtson-'grus "diligence, purpose", with which we may further compare such verbal constructions as brtson-'grus byed-pa "to use diligence, show zeal". Here he perhaps thought of rngul in an extended sense of "to sweat over, to expend energy or effort on, etc." (cf. Mvy. no. 7055). This may indeed be the sense intended in our inscription.

[Ch]ab-gang is the respectful form of chu-gang, both of which occur in OT texts and have been discussed in considerable detail by Stein (1971:487-8, n. 24; 1983:195-6). Their basic sense seems to be "force of character, moral quality", from which are derived further meanings: 1) courage, spirit, élan; 2) right behavior or action, honesty, loyalty, integrity, etc. We render chab-gang here as "the true spirit".

31. Do'a-dag-gi tshe: do'a-dag is provisionally taken together as an old dual, do "two, a pair" and dag "sign of the plural and dual". Thus this phrase would refer to the period of Hsüan-tsung (713-756) and of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (704-755). Not only were these rulers contemporary, but both ruled for a rather long period of time.

33-34. Thugs-yi-dam is the polite form of yi-dam "vow". The vow refers to the treaty of Ch'ih-ling 赤嶺 which was made about 732-733. An inscription was erected at Ch'ih-ling in 734, and the Chinese text of it can be found in Ts'e-fu 979/11b-12a. The text begins with the date "in

the twenty-first year of K'ai-yüan of Great T'ang (733), the year jen-shen (732 sic!)". Apparently a corruption of the text must have crept in here to cause this discrepancy.

34. Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (r. 799 ? - 815) was the father of Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan.

34-35. Zha-snga: This term is used with the names of royal personages and means something like "the presence of". Francke (1914:59) explains it as a short form for zhabs-snga "before the feet". Wang (1982:85) relates it to zhal-snga "before the face". In our corpus it occurs in the agentive, zha-snga-nas "(from:) by His Majesty", and in the terminative, zha-sngar "to or for His Majesty". For further discussion, see Rŏna-Tas (1955:253, n. 12; 268, n. 46).

35. Sgam-dkyel chen-pos ni "because of his great profundity": sgam "deep, profound" and dkyel "stretch, extent" (Das). It is parallel to the construction in line 36: byams-pa'i bka'-drin-gyis ni "because of his kind favors". The expression occurs again in Text V (lines 18-19) and in the Tun-huang documents (Thomas 1951:95).

39-40. Zheng-shin b'un-b'u hwang-te, i.e. Sheng-shen wen-wu huang-ti 聖神文武皇帝 (śjäng-dźjen mjuen mju: ɣwâng tiei-), a title which Emperor Te-tsung 德宗 (r. 779-805) assumed in 780 (T'ang hui-yao 1, p. 9). It was he who concluded the treaty of 783, before the time of Khri-

lde-srong-brtsan. Context seems to demand that we take the passage from here to line 50 as something in quotes, i.e. the reflections of the Tibetan king on the past. This king made no treaty with China, although negotiations were going on from his time until the present treaty of 821-822 was concluded.

41. Dgyes-pa gsar ni bslas-shing bstud: this phrase is grammatically and syntactically parallel to the preceding one: bka'-khon rnying-pa ni spyangs-shing bsald "the old grudge was cleared and removed". We may therefore expect bslas to have a meaning similar to or at least not antithetical to bstud "to repeat, reiterate; do in succession, continue". Interestingly, Satō (1949:32 and 1959:924) translates bslas as futatabi suru "to repeat, do again" and says (1949:43, n. 20) that it is "perhaps a verbal form of sla"; but he does not explain how he interprets sla. In the dictionaries (e.g. Bod-Rgya; Goldstein 1978) sla-ba bslas is glossed as "to weave, braid, knit", activities which denote building up by means of repeated successive actions. The idea in our passage may have been the metaphorical one that the new feelings of amity were "woven" or "knitted" by successive acts of good faith.

42-43. Btsan-po dbon ni sku-tshe gcig // rgya-rje zhang ni gdung-rabs gsum-gyi bar-du: The one Btsan-po here may have been Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (r. 755-797), and correspondingly the three generations of the Chinese emperors

may refer to Su-tsung 肅宗 (756-762), Tai-tsung 代宗 (762-779), and Te-tsung 德宗 (779-804). This was roughly the period of the greatest expansion of Tibet into Chinese territory. The edict here politely refrains from mentioning the occupation of the T'ang capital in 763 by the Tibetan forces.

46-50. This apparently refers to the fact that soon after the treaty of 783 another treaty was negotiated. During the conference of 787 in P'ing-liang 平涼 the Tibetans treacherously captured the Chinese peace envoys (CTS 196b/6b-7a; HTS 216b/3a-b). This is lightly referred to in lines 49-50 by saying that "it was impossible not to resort to military measures and even to strong armies".

Dgra-chos-kyi thabs: the compound dgra-chos "customs or rules of the enemy" occurs no less than seven times in the Tun-huang Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981: lines 23, 64, 90,91,92,102,143) where it means "military affairs, military strategy, etc." and corresponds several times to wu 武 "martial affairs, martial behavior" in the Chinese original. Dgra-chos-kyi thabs thus means "means or measures of military strategy; i.e. warcraft". The expression is sometimes abbreviated as dgra-thabs; see Text II S. 28-28 and THC (Bacot 1940-6:122, 170).

57. Keng-she'i, the genitive of keng-she, i.e. ching-shih 京師 (kjæng si), the capital, Ch'ang-an. It was variously transcribed as keng-shir (locative), ke-shi, king-shi

(Bacot 1940-6:60, 114) and as keng-shi in Text II below. The Chinese records tell us that the treaty was concluded in Wang-hui-szu 王會寺, west of the capital (T'ang hui-yao, 97, p. 1738). The name Sheg-sang-si here is difficult to identify. According to Wang (1982:59, n. 51), Chang K'o-ch'iang 張克强 has recently (1981) suggested that the location in question was the Shih-yang-szu 石羊寺 (źjäk jiang zi-).

58. Skyid-rtag lo bdun "the seventh year of Skyid-rtag". Skyid-rtag, or I-t'ai 彝泰 in Chinese, is the only era-name of a Tibetan king known to us. In HTS 216b, p. 7a, it is stated that the document was dated the seventh year of I-t'ai, thus agreeing with the inscription and serving to fix 815 as the first year of the Tibetan king's reign. He is sometimes called in Chinese I-t'ai Tsan-p'u because of his era-name. There seems to be little doubt that the custom of adopting an era-name came from China.

59. Lcags-mo-glang-gi lo "the Female-Iron-Ox year": This and similar designations of years represent the earliest use of the sixty year cycle in Tibet. Cf. also Text XIV. For a detailed study of the entire question, see Uray (1984).

Dgun-sla ra-ba tshes-bcu-la "on the tenth day of the first winter month", i.e. the tenth day of the tenth month, agreeing with the date given in CTS 196b/14b. This method of indicating the month of the year was probably influenced

by the Chinese. The year was divided into four seasons of three months each, the first month being called sla ra-ba, the middle month sla 'bring-po, and the last month sla tha-chung(s), corresponding to the Chinese expressions meng 孟, chung 仲, and chi 季. Notice sla "month" and zla "moon". Cf. Uray (1984:349).

61. Pho-brang lha-sa'i shar-phyogs sbra-stod-tshal-du "in Sbra-stod-tshal, east of Lha-sa palace." Modern Lhasa was called Ra-sa in the old inscriptions (Texts III and IX) and documents (Bacot 1940-6:20), and Lo-so 邏娑 (lâ-sâ) in Chinese (HTS 216a/16). As lha-sa is here preceded by pho-brang, may we venture to guess that the name Lha-sa was originally the name of the royal residence in the Ra-sa valley and later replaced the name Ra-sa? The word lha-sa occurs as a common noun in Tun-huang documents, e.g. Thomas 1957:62, line 43 "god's world" and P.T. 1134, lines 64-65, cited by Stein (1971:496), who translates it as "la terre des dieux". The ancient name Ra-sa has been explained in folk etymology as "place of the goats". A more plausable explanation is that of Hoffmann (1976:42) that it meant "walled place, enclosed place (< ra-ba 'wall, enclosure')". The historical significance of this name has been discussed by Beckwith (1977:133).

63. Dbyar-sla 'bring-po tshes-drug-la "on the sixth day of the mid-summer month", i.e. the sixth day of the fifth month, agreeing with the date given in CTS 196b/15b.

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63-64. Dkyil-'khor: The altar in Tibet was described as "ten paces wide and two feet high". For a translation of Ts'e-fu's account of the treaty ratification ceremonies held in Tibet (981/18a-19a), see Li (1956a:70).

69. Do Tse'e, i.e. Tu Tsai 杜載 (duo: tsâi-), who is mentioned in CTS 196b.15b, as the Chinese envoy to answer the Tibetan mission in 822. HTS 216b/7b has in addition Ling-hu T'ung 令狐通 as envoy. Unfortunately the other name in lines 69-70 is not legible. On the basis of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's reading, as given by Richardson (1978:143), the first syllable of Tu Tsai's title, 'gu, can be expanded to read 'gu-shi cung-shing 御史中丞 (ngjwo-si: tjung źjeng). The title of the second individual is read as tsan-shan de-b'u, which Wang (1982:44) identifies as tsan-shan da-fu 贊善大夫 (tsân- źjän: dâi pju). The name of this person, given in Richardson's version as li kri b'u is unidentifiable. Wang renders this individual's surname as Kao 高, for reasons which seem unclear.

Translation of the North Face Inscription

1-3 The titles, names, and clan-names of the high and low officials of Great Tibet, who participate in the conclusion of the peace treaty.

4-6 The titles, names, and clan-names of Great Tibet's Great Ministers of State, Participating in the Deliberations of State Affairs.

7-9 Participating in the Deliberations of Important State Affairs, having Power over the Interior and Exterior, and Controlling the Government: The great [Monk] Dpal chen-po Yon[-tan].

10 Commander-in-Chief of the Army: Zhang Khri-sum-rje.

11 ...the Great Minister: Blon...

12-13 -gung; Minister Deputy Commander of the Army: ....bzang.

14-15 The Great Minister [of State:] Blon Rgyal....

16-17 (The Great Minister of State: ...)

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18-19 The Great Minister of State: Zhang.....khod-ne-stang

20-21 The Great Minister of State: Zhang Khri-bzher Lha-mthong.

22-23 The Great Minister of State: Blon Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong.

24-25 The titles, names, and clan-names of the common officials of Great Tibet

26-27 The Blon of the Interior: Mchims Zhang Rgyal-bzher Khod-ne-brtsan.

28-29 The Blon of the Exterior, Participating in the Deliberations of State Affairs: Cog-ro Blon Btsan-bzher Lho-gong.

30-31 Snam-phyi-pa: Mchims Zhang Brtan-bzher Stag-cab.

32-33 Custodian General, Commander of the Khab-so: 'Bal Blon Klu-bzang Myes-rma.

34-35 Secretary General: Bran-ka Blon Stag-bzher hab-ken.

36-37 The Great Comptroller: Rngegs Blon Stag-zigs Rgan-khol.

38 The Blon of the Exterior: 'Bro Zhang Klu-bzang Lha-bo-brtsan.

39-40 The Great Judge, the Supreme Justice: Myang Blon Rgyal-gen Legs-tsan.

ab.

'Bal

ıb-

Text I

Notes to the North Face Translation

1. Blon-po che-phra "the high and the low officials", cf. Tucci (1950:103). Blon is certainly used here in the sense of officials in general. In other cases where one may suspect it to be a title, it is either translated as "minister", or remains untranslated as in the Chinese records, where it is simply transcribed by lun 論 (luən). The Chinese equivalent of this phrase is tsai-hsiang teng ----- kuan-liao 宰相等 ...官寮 "the ministers ---- and other officials".

3. Thabs dang mying-rus is rendered in Chinese by ming-wei 名位 "name and title". Mying-rus is a compound composed of mying "personal name" and rus "bone; clan, clan name". For a discussion of mying and rus in OT texts, see Richardson (1967a). Thabs, as equivalent of Chinese wei, would mean "position, rank, title". In this sense it occurs in the Tun-huang manuscript, P.T. 1089, in the compound gral-thabs "grade, rank" as reported by Lalou (1955:176ff).

4-5. Chab-srid-kyi blon-po chen-po "the Great Ministers of State" is equivalent to Chinese tsai-hsiang 宰相 "Ministers, or Grand Ministers", and bka'-la gtogs-pa is equivalent here to t'ung-p'ing chang-shih同平章事 "participating in the deliberations of state affairs". Elsewhere

t'ung-p'ing chang-shih is rendered by bka'-chen-po-la gtogs-pa (S. 7,10,12,14). Here chen-po is omitted because the phrase is immediately preceded by chen-po, cf. also S. 5; otherwise bka'-la gtogs-pa indicates a lower title, cf. N. 28 where it is simply transcribed as ch'ia-lo-tu-po 伽羅篤波 (gja lâ tuok puâ) and not rendered by t'ung-p'ing chang-shih. Cf. Zhang-blon chen bka'-la gtogs-pa, but chab-srid-kyi blon-po bka' chen-po-la gtogs-pa, ban-de bka' chen-po-la gtogs-pa (Tucci 1950:97, 103).

7-9. This official was undoubtedly Bran-ka Dpal-gyi-yon-tan, the Buddhist monk mentioned in Tibetan histories in the reign of Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan under a number of different names (for a summary of which, see Li 1956a:72). Dpal chen-po, presumably an honorific title, was transcribed in Chinese as his name by either Po-ch'an-pu 鉢闡布 (puât tśhjän puo-) or Po-ch'e-pu 鉢掣逋 (puât tśhjäi- ~ tśhjät puo), and he was said to be a Buddhist monk participating in government affairs (HTS 216b/5b). Po Chü-i 白居易 wrote a letter to him in 809 (Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 237/20b-21a) which addresses him as "the Minister of Tibet, the Buddhist Monk Po-ch'an-pu 吐蕃宰相沙門鉢闡布 (Po-shih Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi 39/10a). We know that this important figure was a man from Bran-ka and was already in power in the reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, and according to Tibetan histories usurped great power in the reign of the next king, as can be seen from his title here. He aroused the jealousies of the other lay ministers and was finally

accused of having an affair with the queen. He was executed, and soon after the king's death there arose a great persecution of Buddhism in Tibet.

10. This was another important figure. He was called in Chinese Shang Ch'i-hsin-erh 尚綺心兒 (źjang khje: sjəm ńźje) and given the Chinese title tu-yüan-shuai 都元帥 "Commander-in-Chief", agreeing with the Tibetan title which may be emended to read dpon-dmag-go-chog-gi bla (literally: "the General, the Head of the Armies"). For further discussion of this person, see Li (1956a:20-23, 73, 98). Richardson (1978:117, n. 2) and Wang (1982:51, n. 14) identify him with 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snang, who is mentioned in the THC (Bacot 1940-6:102).

Zhang was the title of a high official from a family which had furnished queens to the Tibetan kings (Tucci 1950: 58; Richardson 1967a:9-10). The Chinese transcribed this title as shang 尚 (źjang-), saying that it was given to members of the huan-tsu 宦族 "officials' families, families of officials" (see Wang 1982:84).

12. The title blon 'o[g]-dpon is visible in the NMH rubbing, and the Chinese version shows that he was the Deputy Commander of the Army fu-yüan-shuai 副元帥. He is known in Chinese history as yüan-shuai Shang T'a-tsang 元帥尚塔藏 (źjang thập dzâng-) "Commander of the Army, Zhang Lha-bzang. He was probably the same person known as Zhang Tshe-spong Lha-bzang Klu-dpal (Tucci 1950:

54), who was called a dmag-dpon, the conqueror of China (Thomas 1935:286-7; 301).

22-23. The name appears as Bran-ka Blon Rgyal-bzang 'Dus-kong, a nang-blon in the reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, father of the present king (Tucci 1950:54).

26. Mchims is a well-known clan-name (Tucci 1950:66-7; Thomas 1935:276-286).

28-29. Phyi-blon bka'-la gtogs-pa was apparently different from snam-phyi-pa (cf. below) and from phyi-blon, and was probably a title of higher rank. The name of this person occurs as Cog-ro Blon Lho-gong among the group of dbang-po, dmag-dpon and phyis-blon bka'-la gtogs-pa in Tucci (1950:55). Cog-ro is a clan-name frequently found in the Tun-huang documents, cf. Tucci (1950:67).

30-31. Snam-phyi-pa as an official title occurs in the Tun-huang Chronicle (Bacot 1940-6:106): khyo-'da' btsan-po'i snam-pyi-par bka'-stsal-nas "after you were appointed the Btsan-po's snam-pyi-pa". However, the nature of this office is unknown; cf. Tucci (1950:55, 103).

32-33! The mngan-pon was presumably head or chief, i. e. (d)pon, of the mngan. The mngan were officials in charge of fiscal affairs and revenue. Their functions have been studied by Bogoslovskij (1972:135-138). For further

discussion see Uray (1962b). Subordinate to the mngan we find the khab-so, whose primary function has been shown to have been the levying of taxes and imposts (Bogoslovskij 1972:136-138; 170-171, n. 119-131). The etymology of the word khab-so is somewhat obscure. Khab- has usually been understood in the common meaning "palace, residence of a prince, court". The syllable -so has often been taken in the sense of so-pa "guard, watchman, soldier", thus, "palace guards, palace officials" (e.g. Li 1956a:7; Bogoslovskij 1972:137); cf. the alternate form khab-so-pa (~ba) (Uray 1962b:354, n. 2). However, the translation "palace guards" does not reflect the known function of the khab-so. Alternatively, Uray (1982:546, n. 3) suggests that -so is derived from the root of such words as gso-ba bsos and 'tsho-ba bsos meaning "to feed, nourish". The compound would then be rendered as "purveyors to the royal household", reflecting the fact that they levied taxes for the central government. This is a possibility, though we would hope to find other compounds where -so serves in the sense of "nourisher, purveyor". On the other hand, it seems possible that the office of khab-so, as tax collector for the central government, might have evolved from that of original palace military personnel or armed functionaries, whose job sometimes involved confiscation of property or the forcible extraction of tax payments. An earlier position of "palace guard" might have undergone changes in and specialization of function, as is often the case in developing bureaucracies.

Until recently the word khab-so was not listed in dictionaries, but it now appears in Bod-Rgya and is glossed as "royal treasury, treasury of the royal household". The source for this is not given; but the wording of the immediately following entry, on khab-so nang-pa'i khrims "internal laws of the khab-so", suggests that both listings may be based on Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston, ja, 22b. Anyway, the definition "treasury" appears odd at first sight because the khab-so have hitherto been assumed by most to have been people. Interestingly, however, Uebach (1985:30, n. 30) has suggested that khab-so is actually "eine königliche Amtstelle". This idea has considerable merit. It is not unusual to find the name of a government agency or bureau used as a collective term for the functionaries who staff it. Today we speak of "government" when we mean ministers or officials; and we say that "the treasury" collects taxes, when we actually mean that treasury agents perform this function. In Text IV.10 we find the expression khab-so dpon-sna "the khab-so officials" or "the officials of the khab-so" in clear reference to the tax officials as a group. And here we may compare the form khab-so-pa(~ba) which might actually mean "(the khab-so ones >) the functionaries of the khab-so". There is thus the very real possibility that Uebach is right and that khab-so basically refers to the tax-collecting agency or branch of the royal government, i. e. the royal treasury, and only secondarily to the khab-so-pa or khab-so dpon-sna who staffed this agency. The actual etymology of the component -so deserves further study.

'Bal is either a clan or place name, cf. Bacot (1940-6: 84, 132, 169). This officer, whose name is transcribed in Chinese as Lun Chü-li-tsang 論矩立藏 (luən kju: ljəp dzâng-), was sent as an envoy to China in 817, was detained in China because of the Tibetan invasion at that time, and was finally released in 819 (HTS 216b/5b).

34-35. Bka'i phrin-blon is equated with the Chinese title chi-shih-chung 給事中 "Secretary General". Bran-ka is the name of a clan from which the monk Dpal chen-po also came, cf. Tucci (1950:65), Thomas 1935:279). This man's name is transcribed here as Lun Hsi-no-je 論悉諾熱 (luən sjet nâk ńźjät), but also as Lun Hsi-ta-je 論悉答熱 (luən sjet tập ńźjät) who was reported to have held a conference with the Chinese delegation near Lhasa before the conclusion of the treaty (HTS 216b/7a; Ts'e-fu 981/18a-19a).

36-37. Rngegs is a clan-name occurring many times in Tun-huang documents; there is also a territory called Rngegs-yul (Bacot 1940-6:83; Lalou 1965:201). This man, under the name Lun Hsi-no-hsi 論悉諾息 (luən sjet nâk sjək), came to China soon after the treaty on a mission to thank the Emperor (HTS 216b/7a-b).

38. 'Bro is a well-known clan-name (Bacot 1940-6:48, 88ff; Tucci 1950:58-61; Thomas 1935:283-284; Demiéville 1952:25-30). This person's name, Klu-bzang Lha-bo-brtsan,

is transcribed in Chinese as (Chü)-lou-po-tsang-tho-phu-tsan (矩)樓勃藏他(譜)贊 ([kju:] ləu buət dzang- thâ [phuo:] tsân-). He may be the same person as Ch'i-lü-po-tsâng 乞縷勃藏 (khjət lju: buət tsâng-), a blon who is mentioned in the Chinese histories as having brought tribute from Tibet in 805 (CTS 196b/12b; HTS 216b/5a).

39-40. Zhal-ce-pa chen-po zhal-ce-'o-chog-gi bla, literally "the Great Judge, the Head of All the Judges" is given the Chinese equivalent of hsing-pu shang-shu 刑部尚書 "the President of the Board of Justice". He was from Myang, a well-known clan and place name frequently found in Tun-huang documents. There was a Myang-ro as well as a Myang-yul (Bacot 1940-6:83-84; Lalou 1965:197-198). This person's name also occurs as Myang Blon Legs-btsan, a snam-phyi-pa in the reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (Tucci 1950:55).

Text I

Translation of the South Face Inscription

1-3 The titles, names, and [clan-names] of the high and low officials of Great China, who participate in the conclusion of the peace treaty.

4-5 The titles, names, and [clan-names] of Great [China's] Great Ministers of State, Participating in the Deliberations of State Affairs.

6-8 Having the title of Chen-i Ta-fu and provisionally the office of Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellory, [Participating] in the Deliberations of Important State Affairs: .....

9-10 Having the title of ....Ta-fu and provisionally [the office of Vice-President of the Imperial Secretariat, Participating in] the Deliberations of Important State Affairs: .....

11-12 Having the Title of [T'ai]-chung Ta-fu and provisionally the [office of Vice-President of the Imperial Secretariat], Participating in the Deliberations of Important State Affairs: 'Wang Pha (i.e. Wang Po).

13-15 Having the Title of Chung Ta-fu and provisionally the office of Vice-President of the Board of Finance in the Department of Government Affairs, Participating in the Deliberations of Important State Affairs: D'o 'Gwan-yweng (i.e. Tu Yüan-ying).

16-17 Having the title of Cheng-i Ta-fu and the office of President of the Board of War, Participating in the Deliberations of Important State Affairs: Se'u 'B'en (i.e. Hsiao Mien).

18-19 The titles, names, [and clan-names] of the common officials of Great China.

20-21 Having the title of Chin-tzu Kuang-lu Ta-fu and the office of Left Vice-President of the Department of Government Affairs: Han Ka'u (i.e. Han Kao).

22-23 Having the title of Ch'ao-i Lang and the office of Vice-President of the Tribunal of Censors: 'Gi'u Sing-zhu (i.e. Niu Seng-ju).

24-25 Having the title of T'ai-chung Ta-fu and the office of Acting Right Vice-President of the Department of Government Affairs and President of [the Board of] Civil Office: Li K'ang (i.e. Li Chiang).

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26-27 Having the title of Yin-ch'ing Kuang-lu Ta-fu, and the office of President of the Board of Finance: Yang U-ling (i.e. Yang Yü-ling).

28-29 Having the title of T'ung-i Ta-fu and provisionally the office of President of the Board of Rites: 'Wu'i Zhi'u (i.e. Wei Shou).

30-32 Having the title of Yin-ch'ing Kuang-lu Ta-fu and the office of Acting Right Vice-President of the [Department of Government Affairs] and concurrently the office of President of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices: ..-'u Tsong-zhu (i.e. Chao Tsung-ju).

33-34 Having the title of [T'ai-chung] Ta-fu and the office of President of the Board of Rites [and concurrently the office of President of the Court of Agricultural Administration:] B'e'i Bu (i.e. P'ei Wu).

35-36 Having the title of Cheng-i Ta-fu and provisionally the Office of Prefect of the Capital and concurrently the office of President of the Tribunal of Censors: Li'u Kong-cag (i.e. Liu Kung-ch'o).

37-39 Having the title of Yin-ch'ing Kuang-lu Ta-fu and the office of Acting President of the Board of Public Works, and concurrently the office of Grand General of the Right Guard of Chin Wu: Kwag Tshung (i.e. Kuo Ts'ung).

40-41 [Having the title of ... Ta-fu and the office of President of the Court of Supreme Justice] and concurrently the office of President of the Tribunal of Censors: Li'u 'Gwan-teng (i.e. Liu Yüan-ting).

42-43 Having the title of Ch'ao-i Lang and provisionally the office of Director of the Left (?) Bureau in the Department of Government Affairs, and concurrently the office of Vice-President of the Tribunal of Censors: Li-u Shi-la'u (Liu Shih-lao).

44-46 .....

47-49 [Having the Title of] Ch'ao-san Lang and the office of Ching-chao .....

Text I

Notes to the South Face Translation

1-5. Although the inscription here is very badly effaced, a comparison with the north side can establish the reading.

6-8. All Chinese titles and offices are transcribed in Tibetan and not translated, except tsai-hsiang and t'ung-p'ing chang-shih which are regularly rendered by chab-srid-kyi blon-po chen-po and bka' chen-po-la gtogs-pa. Jeng-'gi is emended here according to the Chinese version and S. 16 below; cf. S. 35 where we have jeng-gi. Jeng-'gi da'e-pu, i.e. Cheng-i Ta-fu 正議大夫 (tśjäng- ngje- dâi- pju), was a title of the fourth rank, first class 正四品上 (for such titles without office, see des Rotours 1948:34-37). The name of this official is absent from the inscription, a fact which has led to considerable discussion (Naitō 1928: 322-4; Satō 1949:270 and 1959:897-898; Li 1956a:77). The Chinese histories mention seventeen officials, while this inscription actually has eighteen, including the one mentioned in lines 6-8. There is no obvious reason to doubt the truthfulness of either the histories or the inscription. The reason for the discrepancy, as discussed in more detail elsewhere (Li 1980), would seem to be that Hsiao Mien, who held the position of Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery at the time the Treaty draft was signed in Ch'ang-an

and sent to Lhasa for approval, had been relieved of that post by the time the treaty was formally concluded. In the final version, Hsiao's name appears among the common officials, as President of the Board of War, but the rank and title he held earlier have been left in their appropriate place at the head of the list of Chinese dignitaries. Cf. note to 16-17.

9-10. The name although illegible can be identified as Ts'ui Chih 崔植, who was appointed provisionally (shou 守) to this office in 820 (CTS 16/4b). Satō would like to emend his title to read Ch'ao-san Ta-fu 朝散大夫, a title of the fifth rank, fourth class 從五品下, because this was the title he had in 820. In 820, however, he was mentioned with the title Cheng-i Ta-fu (CTS 16/14a); therefore we cannot be sure what title he had in 821. The Tibetan version accurately adds the word zhi'u, i.e. shou 守 "provisionally", to his office, not found in the Chinese version. There are other cases where the Tibetan version gives additional information not found in the Chinese version (cf. below), and it seems to indicate that the Tibetans had as their basis a more detailed version of the titles of these officials.

11-12. [Tha]'i-cung da'e-pu, i.e. T'ai-chung Ta-fu 太中大夫 (thâi- ṭjung dâi- pju) was a title of the fourth rank, third class 從四品上 Wang Po 王播 was

appointed to this office in 821 in the same month when the treaty was concluded (CTS 16/11b).

13-15. Tu Yüan-ying 杜元穎 was appointed to this office in 821, when he had the title of Ch'ao-san Ta-fu 朝散大夫, fifth rank, fourth class (CTS 16/8a); but he had here already the title of Chung Ta-fu 中大夫, fourth rank, fourth class 從四品下.

16-17. At his own request Hsiao Mien 蕭俛 was relieved of his duty as the Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery early in 821 and appointed President of the Board of Civil Office. On account of the heavy administrative duties in the Board of Civil Office, he again requested relief. He was then appointed President of the Board of War in the tenth month of 821 (CTS 172/11b-12a).

20-21. Chin-tzu Kuang-lu Ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫 was a title of the third rank, first class 正三品 According to CTS, Han Kao 韓皐 was provisionally appointed Right Vice-President in 821, and Left Vice-President in 822 after the treaty was concluded (16/7b, 15a; 129/4b). Is there a discrepancy here, perhaps caused by the transcription of tso "left", by dza, and yu "right", by tsa in Tibetan?

22-23. Ch'ao-i Lang 朝議郎 was a title of the sixth rank, first class 正六品上. He was appointed to

this office in 820 (CTS 16/6b), and although he was a low-ranking official, yet he, as the Vice-President, represented the Tribunal of Censors. The President of the Tribunal was not often appointed, and the Vice-President was its actual head (T'ang hui-yao 60, pp. 1049-50). Thus, the titles President of the Tribunal of Censors, etc., concurrently held by other officials, were merely honorary titles, cf. S. 35-36, 40-41.

24-25. Li Chiang 李絳 was appointed Acting Right Vice-President of the Department of Government Affairs in 821 (CTS 16/12a). Here again the Tibetan version is more accurate in adding the expression k'em-ke'u, i.e. chien-chiao 檢校 "acting", omitted in the Chinese version.

26-27. Yin-ch'ing Kuang-lu Ta-fu 銀青光祿大夫 was a title of the third rank, second class 從三品. Yang Yü-ling 楊於陵 was appointed to this office in 820 (CTS 16/2a).

28-29. T'ung-i Ta-fu 通議大夫 was a title of the fourth rank, second class 正四品下. Wei Shou 韋綬 was appointed to this office in 821 (CTS 16/8b). The records do not mention "provisionally" 守, which is, however, found in the Tibetan version.

30-32. Chao Tsung-ju 趙宗儒 was appointed Acting Right Vice-President of Government Affairs and

provisionally President of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices in 821 (CTS 167/2a). The Tibetan version accurately adds the word kem-ke'u "acting", but omits the word "provisionally". The Chinese version omits both.

33-34. Date of appointment unknown, but P'ei Wu 裴武 was shifted to the Headquarters in Chen-chou 鎮州行營供軍使 after the conclusion of the treaty in 821 (CTS 16/12b).

35-36. Liu Kung-ch'o 柳公綽 was appointed to this office in 821 (CTS 16/9a). The Tibetan version has the word zhi'u "provisionally", not found in the Chinese records.

37-39. Kuo Ts'ung 郭鏦 was appointed Acting President of the Board of Public Works in 820 (CTS 16/2b). Agreeing with the Chinese history the Tibetan version has kem-ke'u "acting", not found in the Chinese version here.

40-41. Part of the title and office is not legible, and has to be supplied from the Chinese version. Liu Yüan-ting 劉元鼎 was appointed to this office and at the same time named Head of the Chinese Delegation to Tibet in 821 (CTS 196b/14b).

42-43. According to HTS 216b/6a, Liu Shih-lao 劉師老 was the director of the Right Bureau in the

Department of Government Affairs, and appointed as Deputy to the head of the Chinese Delegation. Our reading dza "left" is doubtful, as the inscription is badly damaged and it disagrees with the Chinese records. Satō reads tsa "right".

44-49. The names and titles of these two officials are not legible. According to the T'ang history they should be Li Wu 李武 and Li Kung-tu 李公度 who were appointed as p'an-kuan 判官 of the delegation (CTS 196b/14b).

Text II

CHAPTER 4

TEXT II: THE ZHOL INSCRIPTIONS

Date of the Inscription: after 763

Location: south of the Potala in the Zhol district

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Richardson (1952; 1985:1-25); Waddell (1909-11); Wang 1982:61-92

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: Richardson (1952: opposite p. 1): East Face; South Face, lines 48-68+; (1985: plates 2 and 3): same as or very similar to the preceding, larger and more clearly printed; Wang (1982:7) South Face, lines 44-54

The Zhol inscriptions are found on three sides of a pillar which has been said to stand in Lhasa south of the Potala hill in an area known as Zhol. Earlier photographs show the pillar, which is approximately six meters tall, as free standing, with the Potala in the background. Harrer (1984:150-151) states that the pillar has now been moved to a point further east and surrounded by a protective wall, as can be seen in his photograph (after P. 24).

The pillar was erected by the high official Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-khong (known in Chinese sources as Ma

Chung-ying 馬重英), and the inscriptions deal with his career and exploits. The text on the south face of the pillar mentions the Tibetan occupation of the Chinese capital, Ch'ang-an, in 763, and it is generally assumed that the monument was erected not long after this event.

The inscription on the east face, which consists of 16 lines, is a brief statement of Stag-sgra Klu-khong's achievements and includes references to the important offices he held. The much longer south inscription, in seventy-four lines, recounts Klu-khong's rise to power through the denunciation of the disloyal ministers 'Bal Ldong-tsab and Lang Myes-zigs, who, it is said, killed Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan and endangered the life of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan. During the reign of the new king Klu-khong held high office and served as a specialist in Chinese affairs. In this capacity he played a primary role in planning Tibet's successful diplomatic and military maneuvers against China in the 760's and was one of the generals who led the Tibetan army which occupied Ch'ang-an in 763. The inscription on the north face of the pillar, consisting of sixty-eight lines, describes the rewards, privileges, and legal exemptions granted to Klu-khong and his descendants in recognition of his achievements and loyalty to the crown.

The Zhol inscriptions were first studied by Waddell (1909-11), whose readings and interpretations are defective in many ways. Richardson (1952) gives a much better reading and translation, with detailed discussion of historical background. Further studies of this background and the

career of Stag-sgra Klu-khong will be found in Li (1956b) and (1983) and Beckwith (1983).

There are no published rubbings of the inscription. Two rather small photos of the east and part of the south face will be found facing page 1 of Richardson (1952). Larger and clearer versions of these appear in Richardson (1985). Wang (1982) gives a detailed photo of a portion of the south face. Our text is based primarily on these photos and on the readings of Richardson. with occasional reference to Wang (1982).

Uray (1955) has shown that the current letter w- is actually derived from an earlier combination of '- plus subscribed w, and he suggests 'w- as the paleographical transliteration of this combination. Photographs of the present inscription clearly reveal that the element transcribed by Richardson (1952) as lb- is actually a form of 'w- (cf. Uray 1955:Table II); and Richardson's new transcription (1985) no longer uses lb- in such cases. Wang writes everywhere w-. Following Uray's suggestion we transliterate as 'w- but give the forms of Richardson (1952) and Wang in the notes. Bracketed forms follow Richardson (1952; 1985) for the most part. Wang's transcription has no brackets. Richardson (1985) substitutes text notes for bracketed forms. Waddell's version is not included in the collation. Richardson (1985:2-3) discusses the use of double tsheg in the punctuation of these texts, and he includes this feature in his transcription. We have not attempted to reproduce it in our transliteration.

Text of the East Face Inscription

1. -// blon stag sgra klu
2. khong / nang blon chen
3. po dang yo gal /['chos/]
4. pa chen por / bka/['/]
5. stsald kyis kyang /
6. bka' lung dang /['/]dra[1)]
7. bar / rje blas dka/['/]
8. dgu nyamsu blangs
9. te phyi nang gnyis kyi[2)]
10. chab srid khab so -[3)]
11. dpend pa dang che
12. chung gnyis la dra/ng/]
13. zhing snyoms te / bod
14. mgo nag po'i srid
15. la phan ba[4)] legs //
16. dgu byas so ///

Text II

Notes to the East Face Inscription

Abbreviations:

R 1	Richardson (1952)
R 2	Richardson (1985)
W	Wang (1982)

1) R 2: 'dra

2) R 1,W: gyi

3) R 2: [la]; W has nothing here.

4) W: pa

Text of the South Face Inscription

1. -// btsan pho khri lde gtsug
2. rtsan gyi ring la' //
3. -// ngan lam klu khong gis //
4. glo ba nye ba'i[1] rje blas byas pha[2]
5. // 'bal ldong tsab dang / lang
6. myes zigs / blon po chen pho
7. byed byed pa las / glo ba rings
8. nas /// btsan pho yab khri lde
9. gtsug rtsan gyi sku la dard te /
10. dgung[3] du gshegs so ///
11. btsan pho sras khri srong lde brtsan
12. gyi sku la ni dard du nye // bod
13. mgo nag po'i srid ni 'khrug du[4]
14. byed[5] pa las / klu khong gis / 'bal
15. dang / lang glo ba rings ba'i gtan
16. gtsigs // btsan pho sras khri srong
17. lde brtsan gyi[6] snyan du gsold nas
18. 'bal dang / lang glo ba rings /
19. bden bar[7] gyurd te / khong ta ni
20. bkyon phab ste // klu khong glo ba nye'o
21. -// btsan pho khri srong lde brtsan gyi ring
22. la /// ngan lam klu khong glo ba nye la[8]
23. bka' gros che nas / thugs brtand
24. te // nang blon bka' la gtogs
25. par bcug nas // rgya'i[9] srid gyi nyam
26. drod rtog cing / khar tsan phyogs su
27. thog ma drangs pa'i / dmag dpon

Text II

28. du / bka' stsald gyis kyang / dgra'
29. thabs mkhas la gros gyis song[10] de /
30. rgya'i khams su gtogs pa'i 'a zha
31. /ma/ng[11] po bsdus / rgya las mnangs phal
32. /po/ che[12] bcad pas / rgya spa gong ste // rgya'i /
33. kha/ms/ su /gto/gs pa dbyar mo thang /
34. - - - - - - - - na dang / tsong ka phyogs
35. - - - - - -[13] dang nas las stsogs
36. /pa/ - - - - - - - -ng pho gcald / klu
37. /khong gis/ - - - - - 'khrugs pa'i dgra
38. - - - - - - - chab srid chen pho m/dzad/
39. - - - - - - /bka'/ gros chen pho gsold
40. - - - - glo ba nye zhing chab srid la dpend
41. /pa'i sems/[14] dka' ba[15] byaso[16] /// btsan
42. pho khri srong[17] lde brtsan thugs sgam la' /
43. /bka'/ gros gyi rgya che bas / chab srid gar
44. mdzad do cog du'ang legs ste / rgya'i khams
45. su gtogs pa'i yul dang mkhar mang po
46. bcom ste bsdus nas // rgya[18] rje he'u 'gi 'wang[19]
47. te rje blon skrag[20] ste / lo gcig[21] cing[22] rtag du dpya
48. dar yug lnga khri phul te / rgya[23] dpya 'jal du[24]
49. bcug go /// de'i[25] 'og du / rgya rje yab he'u 'gi[26]
50. 'wang te[27] grongs ste / rgya rje sras 'wang peng 'wang[28]
51. rgyal por zhugs nas / bod la dpya' 'jal
52. du ma rung ste // btsan pho thugs snyung ba'i tshe
53. ngan lam klu khong gis // rgya yul gyi thild / rgya
54. rje'i pho brang keng shir / bod gyis dmag drang[29]
55. ba'i bka' gros gyi mgo chen pho[30] gsold nas /

56. keng shir drang ba'i dmag[31] dpon chen phor //
57. zhang mchims rgyal rgyal zigs shu theng dang //
58. blon stag sgra klu khong gnyis / bka stsald te /
59. keng shir drangs nas // ci'u cir gyi rab ngogs
60. su rgya dang thab mo chen pho byas te / bod gyis[32] g-yul
61. bzlog nas // rgya mang po btungs[33] pas // rgya rje kwang
62. peng 'wang[34] yang / keng shi'i mkhar nas byung[35] ste' /
63. sshem ci'ur bros nas / keng shi phab ste rgya rje'i nang
64. blon [36]'bye'u ts[36]in keng las stsogs te dong kwan dang
65. bo kan[37] ya- - - - - - - - - btsan po'i
66. 'ba[ngs] - - - - - - - - - - - bod - u gang[38]
67. dang khra- - - - - - - - - - - - te / kim sheng kong
68. co'i ming po - - - - - - - - - - 'khras shing
69. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - blon po
70. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - rgyal pho che chung
71. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - srid phugsu /
72. [gra] ba gta[m] yun tu[39] snyand[40] par byas te / klu khong glo
73. ba nye zhing chab srid la [dpen]d pa'i [sems] dka'[41]
74. ba byas so /

dpya

g[28])

Text II

Notes to the South Face Inscription

1) R 1, W: ba'i

2) W: pa

3) W: dgong

4) R 2: tu

5) R 2: byad

6) R 1, W: kyi

7) R 2: par

8) W: nye ba la

9) R 1, W: rgya'i

10) R 2: sod

11) R 1: [d]ang; W: dang

12) R 1: [sa] cha; W: sa cha

13) R 2: - - - - [stsang] ra

14) After sems] and before dka' R 2 has x x x

15) W: dga' pa

16) R 1, W: byas so

17) R 2: [pho khri srong]

18) R 1: rkya

19) R 1: 'ki lbang;W:'gi wang

20) R 1: sgrag

21) R 1, W: cig

22) R 1, W: cing

23) R 1, W: rgya'

24) R 1, R 2: tu

25) R 1, W: de'i̊

26) R 1: 'ki̊

27) R 1: lbang de; W: wang de. Te is visible in Wang's published photo (1982:7) and can be compared with gerundive te and the letter d of dar in line 48.

28) R 1: lbang peng lbang; W: wang peng wang

29) R 1: trang. Initial d- is clear in Wang's photo.

30) R 1, W: po

31) R 1: dmak

32) R 2: kyis

33) W: bdungs

34) R 1: lbang; W: wang

35) W: phyung

36) R 1, W: 'gye'u -i̊n; R 2: 'bye'u -i̊n

37) R 2: kwan

38) R 2: [chu]gang

39) W: gra ba dang gtam yun tu; R 2: x ba dang

40) W: snyan

41) W: dga'

Text II

Text of the North Face Inscription

1. -// blon stag sgra klu khong /
2. dku rgyal gtsigs gnang
3. ba'i mdo rdo rings la yi/g/ /du/[1]
4. bris pa' //
5. -// btsan pho khri srong lde brtsan
6. gyi zha snga nas dbu snyung gnang
7. ste / blon stag sgra klu khong gi bu tsha
8. rgyud 'pheld la nam nam zha zha/r/[2]
9. dngul gyi yi ge chen po gcig //
10. na myi dbab par g-yung drung /
11. du stsald phar gnang ngo //
12. /btsan/[3] po sras dbon sku tse[4] rabs
13. re zhing yang / zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud
14. 'peld las gcig / zham 'bring /
15. na nang kor yan cad du gzhug
16. cing tshal zar rtag du mchis par
17. gnang ngo // zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud
18. 'peld[5] la rje blas gyi rngo thog pa'i
19. rnams ji tsam du rngo thog par bkas
20. bkur zhing bstod par gnang ngo /
21. zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud gyis // btsan po[6]
22. zha sngar // glo ba ma rings[7] na / nongs
23. myig gzhan ci byung yang rung / srog
24. srid la myi dbab par // bka' gyod gyi[8]
25. tshigs ci la bab pa las // bka' gyod
26. na gcig gis smad cing bskyung[9] bar

27. gnang ngo // zla gong gi bu tsha peld las
28. la la zhig / rabs chad na rabs chad
29. gyi khol yul dang / nor pyugs / blar myi
30. bzhes par / pu[10] nu po gang nye ba stsald
31. par gnango /// blon stag sgra klu khong /
32. gi bu tsha rgyud peld / dku rgyal gyi yi ge'
33. lag na 'chang 'chang ba zhig rabs chad
34. dam bkyon bab na yang / dngul gyi yi ge
35. blar myi bzhes par / blon stag sgra klu khong /
36. dang / zla gong[11] gi bu tsha rgyud gang nye ba gcig
37. dngul gyi yi ge chen po g-yung drung du stsald
38. par gnang ngo /// blon stag sgra klu khong gi
39. pha zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud 'pheld gyi rnams
40. zhang lon yi ge pa'i thang dang / dmag sum rgyar
41. gnang ngo /// sku srungs 'phan yul pa'i[12]
42. stong dpon du gzhan su yang myi gzhug par
43. blon stag sgra klu khong gi myes po gsas slebs /
44. gyi bu tsha rgyud peld las gang rngo thog pa' /
45. dmangs 'drang ba gcig / sku srungs 'pan[13]
46. yul pa'i stong dpon g-yung drung du stsald
47. par gnang ngo /// ngan lam gsas slebs
48. gyi bu tsha rgyud 'pheld / nam zhar gyang sde sku
49. srungs su gnang ba las / sde cha gudu myi spo' myi
50. bsgyur bar gnang ngo /// zla gong gi bu tsha'
51. rgyud 'pheld gyi lag na bran zhing 'brog sog
52. tshal las stsogs te dbang ngo cog / blar myi bzhes
53. myi dbri gzhan gyis myi dprog[14] khong ta bdag myi
54. dga' na nye ring dang bzang ngan myi brje bar

Text II

55. gnang ngo /// zla gong gi bu tsha rgyud 'pheld[15] la
56. la la zhig gis sha khon gyi bag du srog srid la /
57. dma' bar byed pa zhig yod na / bka' non bla
58. nas mdzad par gnang ngo /// zla gong gi bu tsha
59. rgyud pheld [16] gyis glo ba ma rings[17] na phra ma myi gstsand
60. glan ka myi btsal myi bkyon bar gnang ngo ///
61. bu tsha 'pheld gyi nang nas la la zhig // btsan po[18]
62. zha sngar glo ba rings yang dag par gyurd na gang
63. nyes pa'i sgor / bka gyod rma'o // pu[19] nu po gzhan /
64. khrin la myi gdags srog srid la myi[20] dbab par gnang
65. ngo //
66. -// mdor na' blon stag sgra klu khong gi pha zla gong
67. gi bu tsha rgyud pheld srog - - dang srid[21] de par[22] thugs
68. gong mdzad de - - - - - - - - - -

Notes to the North Face Inscription

. gstsand

1) R 1, R 2, W: gru

2) R 2: x x

3) R 1, R 2, W: brtsan

4) W: tshe

/

5) R 1, WL 'pheld

6) R 2 has e above o in po.

7) R 1, W: ri̇ng

8) R 1, W: gyi

2) thugs

9) W: bskyang

10) R 1, W: bu

11) R 1: khong

12) W: ba'i

13) W: 'phan

14) W: dphrog

15) R 1: 'peld

16) R 1: peld

17) W: ri̇ngs

18) R 2 has e above o in po.

19) R 1: bu; W: phu

20) R 1: mi

21) R 2: skyid, emended to srid in a note

22) W: da bar; cf. Waddell: bde bar

Text II

Translation of the East Face Inscription

1-16 Even as the Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong was appointed Great Interior Minister and Great Administrative Officer (?), he, in compliance with the royal orders, experienced many difficulties as a Rje-blas. In the government of both the exterior and interior, he used the khab-so sparingly, and he was righteous and impartial toward the great and the small. He performed many good deeds, useful in governing Tibet's black-headed people.

Notes to the East Face Translation

1-2. Stag-sgra Klu-khong. As revealed below (S. 3, etc.) this person's clan name was Ngan-lam. He appears in the THA (Bacot 1940-6:60-66) as blon Stag-sgra and in the THC as Ngan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-gong. The name Stag-sgra is normally transcribed in Chinese as Hsi-no-lo 悉諾邏 (sjet nâk lâ) but the name Stag-sgra Klu-khong does not appear in Chinese sources. Instead, one finds mention of a Tibetan with the Chinese name Ma Chung-ying 馬重英, whose career was strikingly similar to that of Stag-sgra Klu-khong. It has been shown elsewhere that Stag-sgra Klu-khong and Ma Chung-ying were one and the same (Li 1956b; 1983); cf. also Wang (1982:90-91, n. 30), who concurs in this. This seems to be the only case in Chinese records where a Tibetan general was known by a Chinese name.

3-4. Yo-gal ['chos]-pa chen-po. As noted by Richardson (1952:15; 1967a:7-8; 1985:5, n. 1) the title yo-(')gal 'chos-pa occurs in the Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston, ja 112b (we have also noted it at ja 21b, lines 3-4), and he suggests that it was a judicial office. Following Wang (1982:89, n. 22) it may correspond to yü-han-po-ch'e-pu 喻寒波掣逋 (jiu- ɣân puâ tśjät ~ tśjäi- puo) which is identified in the Chinese sources (HTS 216a/1a) as Cheng-shih ta-hsing 整事大相 "Great Administrative Minister". This

transcription does not show the emended syllable ['chos]. The same HTS entry mentions two more related offices, i.e. yü-han-mi-ling-po 喻寒覓零逋 (jiu- γân miek lieng puo) (= yo-gal 'bring-po ?) identified as Fu-cheng-shih 副整事 "Vice Administrative Minister" and yü-han-po-ch'ung 喻寒波充 (jiu- γân puâ tśhjung) (= yo-gal-pa chung ?) identified as Hsiao-cheng-shih 小整事 "Lesser Administrative Minister".

7-9. Nyamsu blangs is perfective of nyams-su len-pa "to take to heart, to experience". (FKL)

The basic sense of nyams-su len-pa seems clearly to be "to take to heart". Mvy.(#1797) attests it in the phrase nyams-su len-pa'am shen-par byed-pa (= āsthitikriyā "acting with perseverance or persistence"). From this come various later senses, including "to practice, put into actual practice", hence "to experience". I believe its sense in early texts is primarily "to persevere in, pay careful heed to, do conscientiously, etc." Cf. the following modern renderings of it: Huang (1981:215) shih-hsing 實行 "to carry out, realize", chih-li-yü 致力于 "apply effort to"; Stein (1983:208) "exécuter"; and for our passage: Wang (1982:83) ts'ung-shih 從事 "to pursue, carry out". (WSC)

Rje-blas -- a title, perhaps of a high official. (FKL)

The term rje-blas is actually fairly well attested in OT texts; but there is little agreement on its meaning, and Richardson's point (1972:35, n. 76) that it deserves a separate and comprehensive study is well-taken. The expression

occurs twice in the present inscription and again in Texts IV and XIII. It is found and easily located in the indexed materials of Thomas (1935-63), Lalou (1955), and Thomas (1957). It occurs in the famous paraphrases of the Shang-shu (Huang (1981:215, line 60) and the Chan-kuo-ts'e 戰國策 (Imaeda 1980:67, no. V, 1.6). Several further examples from OT Buddhist texts are cited by Stein (1983:207-208) who has made some very illuminating observations on the term. Finally, Professor G. Uray has kindly drawn my attention to an occurrence of it in P.T. 1217, line 8 (Spanien and Imaeda 1979, plate 493). The following preliminary notes are based on inspection of these various text examples. Rje-blas is in my opinion not the name of a particular office or rank but rather a common noun which refers to service performed for the state or realm. In so far as it could be demanded by the government or the authorities, it was a duty. In our inscription Stag-sgra Klu-khong is praised for having taken his rje-blas to heart and for having performed loyal rje-blas. But in Text IV Rkong Karpo is excused from rje-blas, as if it were an onerous burden. On the other hand, in several of the Tun-huang texts rje-blas is avidly sought after by various individuals, perhaps for the same reasons that government service has always been prized. Sadly, the Chan-kuo-ts'e paraphrase passage is too fragmentary to be interpreted meaningfully, but the Shang-shu example is wonderfully clear. Here, in a harangue to his troops (dmag-myi), King Wu of Chou says that those who perform bravely will be rewarded; but, bdagi lung ltar

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ma-byas-te / rje-blas nyams-su myi-len-pa [ni] srog-la dbab-bo "Those who do not act according to my commands and do not take to heart (i.e. persevere in) the rje-blas will be executed." The Chinese original says: kung to yu hou shang, pu ti yu hsien lu 功多有厚賞,不迪有顯戮 "If the merit is much there will be generous rewards, but if you do not (advance:) march forward there will be conspicuous punishment by execution." Thus it would seem that even ordinary troops had their rje-blas in battle which they must perform on pain of death, and the term can therefore not refer specifically or exclusively to a title or to high government office. For the meaning of rje-blas I tentatively suggest "service, duty". Richardson (1952:9) interpreted rje- in the compound as "ruler, royal" and blas as a form of las "work", thus: "royal work:; but he cited no supporting examples of blas as a variant of las in early texts. A possible case might occur in the word dka'-blas found in Thomas (1951:149, line 13). The meaning of this compound seems uncertain, but it may be a form of the better-known dka'-las "difficult work, difficulty, hardship". Richardson's interpretation, about which he now expresses doubt (1985:5), remains problematical. Beckwith (1983:2, n. 6) takes rje- in the sense of "exchange, barter, trade" and -blas as a variant form of glas (after Chos-grags) meaning "wage, fee", thus: "a high official in charge of payments, perhaps to the army". Now, glas, gla, etc., having to do with hiring and wages, are attested in OT texts (see, for example, Thomas 1951) but no variants in bl- seem to be known. We

must suspect a late origin for such variants in Chos-grags unless OT textual corroboration can be found. But most important here is that the sense suggested by Beckwith cannot account for the Shang-shu example and is probably too narrow for many of the other occurrences of rje-blas. In the end, the etymology of this word must remain in question. For lines 7-9 I suggest the translation "he (took to heart:) persevered in performing many difficult duties (rje-blas)." (WSC)

10. On khab-so, see note to Text I, N. 32.

Text II

Translation of the South Face Inscription

1-10 In the time of the btsan-po, Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan, Klu-khong of the Ngan-lam clan was the loyal Rje-blas. Ldong-tsab of the 'Bal clan and Myes-zigs of the Lang clan continued to be the Great Ministers; and after they were disloyal they endangered the life of the btsan-po, Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan, the father, and he passed away.

11-20 The life of the btsan-po, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, the son, was almost endangered. The government of the black-headed Tibetans was disorganized, and after Klu-khong brought to the notice of the btsan-po, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, the son, the evidence of the disloyalty of 'Bal and Lang, 'Bal and Lang were proven truly to be disloyal, and they were punished. Klu-khong was loyal!

21-41 In the time of the btsan-po, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, as Klu-khong of the Ngan-lam clan was loyal, after a great council, (the king's) mind was made up and after he (i.e. Klu-khong) was appointed the Interior Minister, Participating in State Affairs, he observed the troubles of the Chinese government. He was also ordered to be the army commander leading the troops in the direction of Khar-tsan (perhaps Ling-chou). As he was skillful in warfare, he proceeded with caution. The numerous 'A-zha (i.e. T'u-yü-hun)

who belonged to the Chinese realm were gathered together, and a great deal of authority (over them) was cut off from China. China was frightened, and Dbyar-mo-thang which belonged to the Chinese realm .....and the Tsong-ka area... .....and barley and so forth.....spread. Klu-khong... .....the disorganized enemy.....made a great government. .....he requested the council.....he was loyal and he performed difficult (tasks ?) that were beneficial to the government.

41-49 The btsan-po Khri-srong-lde-brtsan was profound in his mind, and the extent of his council was great. Whatever he did for his government was good. He conquered many districts and cities which belonged to the Chinese realm, and gathered (united ?) them together. Afterwards, the Chinese Emperor He'u-'gi 'wang-te (perhaps for Su-tsung), both the Emperor and his ministers, being afraid, offered every year in perpetuity a tribute of fifty thousand bolts of silk. China was compelled to pay the tribute.

49-59 After that, Emperor He'u-'gi 'wang-te, the father, died. The Emperor's son 'Wang-peng 'wang (Prince Kuang-p'ing) was enthroned as the ruler. Then it seemed improper for him to pay to Tibet the tribute. When the btsan-po was unhappy (about this), he asked Klu-khong of the Ngan-lam clan to be the great chief of the council to lead the Tibetan army toward the center of the Chinese realm, namely the Emperor's palace (capital ?), i.e. Keng-shi. Both Zhang

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Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng, of the Mchims-rgyal clan, and Blon Stag-sgra Klu-khong were appointed the great army commanders to attack Keng-shi.

59-74 After attacking Keng-shi, they fought a great battle with the Chinese at the ford on the river banks of Ci'u-cir. The Tibetans beat back the (enemy) army, and killed many Chinese. Consequently the Chinese Emperor Kwang-peng Wang (Prince Kuang-p'ing) also came out of the city of Keng-shi, and fled to Sshem-chi'u (i.e. Shan-chou). Keng-shi fell, and the Emperor's Interior Minister, 'Bye'u Tsin-keng (i.e. Miao Chin-ch'ing) and others...the Dong-kwan (i.e. the T'ung-kuan Pass)..... Kim-sheng Kong-co's (i.e. Princess Chin-ch'eng's) brother was inclined to ....minister .....princes, great and small, ...the government at last. .....was made in the glory (of the Tibetan King). Klu-khong was loyal, and performed difficult tasks (?) for the benefit of the state.

Notes to the South Face Translation

1-2. Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan is a variant spelling of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan.

4. Glo-ba nye-ba'i rje-blas byas-pha "was the loyal Rje-blas". On glo-ba rings "disloyal", glo-ba nye "loyal", and related expressions, see Li (1959). (FKL)

For this passage I suggest "performed loyal service"; cf. E. 7, note. (WSC)

5. Ldong-tsab of the 'Bal clan is mentioned in the entries for 744, 746, and 747 in the THA (Bacot 1940-6: 55; 62). He was liquidated in or shortly before 755 (op. cit., pp. 56; 63). Myes-zigs of the Lang clan appears in the THA entry for 746 and was probably liquidated along with Ldong-tsab (Bacot 1940-6: 55, 56; 62, 63). Cf. also THC (op. cit., pp. 102, 103).

9. Dard is a perfective of 'dor-ba, as in srog 'dor-ba "to endanger life, deprive of life". (FKL)

The WT perfect of 'dor-ba "to cast away, throw out" is dor. The expression srog 'dor-ba seems to mean basically "to throw away life". Dard is attested in OT texts as a form of dar-ba "to spread, expand, etc." (Thomas 1951; Stein 1983:197). An alternative interpretation of our

passage might be to take sku-la dard as "it (spread to:) reached to the life (of the king)." (WSC)

25-26. Nyam-drod perhaps means "troubles (< 'mind-heat')", as suggested by Thomas (1955:29). (FKL)

Nyam-drod may be a variant of WT nyams-drod. Bod-Rgya defines this word as "intention, idea, confidence, resolve, determination (to do something)". I suggest translating our passage as "he observed the intentions of the Chinese government". Nyam-drod recurs at VII W. 12 in the phrase nyam-drod zin which may be a variant of the WT phrase nyams-drod 'dzin "to try out, sound out, take the measure of (< 'grasp the intentions')". (WSC)

26. Khar-tsan was a garrisoned city, probably the seat of the military governor, Chieh-tu-shih 節度使. The place in question is perhaps Ling-chou 靈州 (lieng tśjəu), which was made the seat of the military governor of So-fang 朔方節度使 (CTS 196a/12a) and was mentioned several times in Chinese histories as having been attacked by the Tibetans in the eighth century. In 758 the place Khar-tsan Leng-cu (where Leng-cu transcribes Ling-chou) was attacked by the Tibetans (Bacot 1940-6:57). This was three years before they finally descended from there to attack Ch'ang-an. (FKL)

It is important to note here that (contra Richardson 1985:1) the name Leng-cu can probably not have referred to Liang-chou 涼州 (ljang tśjəu), for, as has been shown

by Lo (1933) and Csongor (1960), the MC final -jang was transcribed by the Tibetans as -ang, -yang, -ong, -yong, -o, or -yo in all known OT sources. On the other hand, MC -ieng was rendered as -eng, -yeng, -e, or -ye in the OT transcriptions of Chinese words. Tibetan leng is thus a possible transcription of Chinese ling (MC lieng) as in the place-name Ling-chou. (WSC)

27. Thog-ma drangs would seem to be equal to the WT expression thog-drangs, perfective of thog-'dren "to lead, guide, direct". For a discussion of the word 'dren-pa in the sense "lead (troops, armies, expeditions, etc.)" see Uray (1962a).

30. The 'A-zha were a people whom the Chinese called T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾 or T'ui-hun 退渾, sometimes abbreviated to Hun 渾. For a thorough study of the Chinese accounts of them, see Molè (1970).

31-32. The expression mnangs bcad-pa is found in Thomas (1951:95) in a recounting of Tibetan martial exploits against the Chinese and the Dru-gu. Thomas translates (p. 101) "slew the people". Mnangs is glossed in old lexicons as nom-pa "to seize, lay hold of" and srid "rule, dominion, control" (cf. Bacot 1940-6:197; Li-shi gur-khang, p. 47). Bod-Rgya defines mnangs-pa as an archaic word meaning "goods, property". These senses are probably all related variations on a single sense "to hold, have in hand". To

take mnangs as an equivalent of 'bangs or dmangs "people, subjects" as proposed by Thomas (1955:40) seems unwarranted. For our passage "rule, control" would appear to be most appropriate.

Phal-[po] che is well-known from Mvy. as the Tibetan equivalent of Skt. avataṃsaka "a large number, collection". Phal-cher occurs in the Sino-Tibetan Glossary (Li 1961:268, lines 39-40) meaning to-fen 多分 "to a great degree or extent". In WT the syllable phal seems to be frozen in this and similar expressions. Its basic sense was probably "heap, amount", and its well-known sense of "common" in the compound phal-pa, etc. is probably a cognate, i.e. "big amount, widespread, in the main, common".

32. Dbyar-mo-thang is identified by Thomas (1955:42) as "the pasture country immediately west of the Kokonor". More recently Uray (1979b:313) points out that our inscription throws light on the matter, for at this period the only territory held by the Chinese in this area was east or northeast of the Kokonor. Cf. T'an (1982:32-33). But, interestingly, T'an elsewhere (1982:76-77) places Dbyar-mo-thang south of the Kokonor! For further mention of it, see Wylie (1962:112 and 201, n. 822).

34. Tsong-ka, now written Tsong-kha, is a district which according to Wylie (1962:114, n. 4) "lies east of lake Kokonor between the Rma-chu (Yellow River) and the Tsong-chu (Huang-shui 湟水)."

39. [bka']-gros chen-pho gsold "he requested the council". (FKL)

I believe this expression means "he offered great counsel." See lines 53-5, note. (WSC)

41. [sems] dka'-ba. The meaning of [sems] here is uncertain, and the emendation is questionable. The same expression occurs in lines 73-4 below, where the inscription is again badly damaged. The missing word might be legs "good thing, good deed" as in E. 15, thus "he performed difficult good deeds..." On the other hand, we should compare a very similar passage from the newly discovered Lho-brag Inscription (Text XIII. 1-2): glo-ba nye-nye sku dang chab-srid la dphen-pha'i rje-blas dka'-ba byed-byed.... "He was continuously loyal and continuously performed useful and difficult service for our person and government..." This parallel suggests that our missing word might be rje-blas "service, duty". (WSC)

46-7. He'u-'gi-'wang-te is the title of a Chinese emperor, but does not correspond well to any known regal name of this period. It seems to be a mistake for Hsiao-kan huang-ti 孝感皇帝 (xau-kâm: ɣwâng tiei-), expected Tibetan form: *He'u-kam-hwang-te, the title of Su-tsung 肅宗 (r. 756-762). (FKL)

Huang 皇 is normally transcribed as hwang in Tibetan. The present transcription may represent a stage before MC ɣw- was devoiced to hw- in Chinese and was therefore

perceived by the Tibetans as w-. 'Gi is a usual transcription of Chinese i 義 (ngje-), and hsiao-i 孝義 (xau-ngje-) "filial and righteous" is, like hsiao-kan, a well-attested laudatory compound in literary Chinese. We know from the Chinese histories that Su-tsung's titles were modified several times during his reign (cf. Demiéville 1952: 301, n. 1). Is it possible that at some point he was actually called Hsiao-i, and that this has not been recorded by Chinese historians? Or could it be that for some reason now unknown the Tibetans mistakenly thought this was his title? We shall perhaps never know. (WSC)

50. 'Wang-peng-'wang. This is an erroneous spelling of Kwang-peng-'wang, which appears in lines 61-2 below. It is a transcription of Kuang-p'ing Wang 廣平王 (kuâng: bjɐng jwang) Prince Kuang-p'ing, who succeeded to the throne in 762 and is generally known as Tai-tsung 代宗 .

53-5. Ngan-lam Klu-khong gis----------gsold-nas. Bod-gyis dmag cannot, in my opinion, mean "the Tibetan army". Instead, Bod is here marked by gyis as agentive and should be taken as subject of its own minor clause. Bka'-gros gsol is an expression meaning "to offer advice" (see Text VII W. 8 and 13). Bka'-gros-gyi mgo here perhaps means "(head:) foremost of counsels, most advisable course". Bod-Rgya, based surely on Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (ja 21a) has an entry on the expression bka'-'gros chen-mo drug "the six great counsels." As explained in the entry, these "counsels" were

actually policies or governmental actions (cf. Uray 1972:21 "the six great principles"; Stein 1984:266 "six précepts"), the fifth of which was dgra 'dul-zhing 'bangs skyung-ba "to conquer enemies and defend the people". For our passage I suggest, "After Ngam-lam Klu-khong had offered the great, most preferable of policies, that Tibet should (lead:) send its army toward the Emperor's palace, Keng-shi, at the heart of the Chinese realm....." (WSC)

54. Keng-shir is the terminative of Keng-shi, a transcription of the Chinese compound ching-shih 京師 (kjɐng si) "capital". Cf. Text I E. 57 where it is transcribed as keng-she. The word pho-brang "palace" here seems to refer to the Chinese capital, Ch'ang-an. (FKL)

It seems possible that the concepts "royal palace" and "capital city" were not clearly distinguished in OT. Note that in Text I E. 61 the Tibetan royal seat is called pho-brang lha-sa. The Tibetans seem to have understood keng-shi or keng-she as the proper name of the royal seat of the Chinese Emperor. Note also that the city of Ch'ang-an per se is referred to in line 62 below as keng-shi'i mkhar, lit. "Keng-shi's fortified town." (WSC)

57. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng appears in the THA in the years 755, 757, 762, and 763, under the name Zhang Rgyal-zigs. The events recorded in our inscription are specifically mentioned in the entry for 762 (Bacot 1940-6:60, 66). The fall of Ch'ang-an is dated to 763 in Chinese

records (CTS 196a/12b). Zhang Rgyal-zigs' name is transcribed in CTS (196a/14a) as Shang-ye-hsi 尚野息 (źjang jia: sjək).

59. Ci'u-cir is a transcription of Chou-chih 整厔 (tjəu tjet), a district west of Ch'ang-an. HTS (216a/12b) records that Chou-chih fell to the Tibetans before they took Ch'ang-an.

61. Btungs is listed by Bod-Rgya as an archaic word meaning "to kill". It appears to be the perfect form of some other verb, perhaps cognate to rdung-ba "to beat, smash".

63. Sshem-ci'ur is terminative of Sshem-ci'u, which Wang (1982:84) has correctly identified as a transcription of Chinese Shan-chou 陝州 (śjäm: tśjəu), a district east of Ch'ang-an. Ssh- here is written with sh- subscribed under s-. MC ś- is normally transcribed by Tibetan sh-. Richardson (1985:15, n. 13), following Satō (source not cited), identifies Sshem-ci'u as "Hsien-chou". We do not know what place they mean by this.

64. ['Bye'u ts]in-keng. For our ['Bye'u] Richardson (1952) and Wang (1982) read 'Gye'u. Waddell read Bye'u. Richardson now reads 'Bye'u. The transcription renders the name Miao Chin-ch'ing 苗晉卿 (mjäu tsjen- khjæng), who was shih-chung 侍中 "President of the Imperial

Chancellery" during the Tibetan occupation of Ch'ang-an. He was old and ill and could not flee from the capital. He was seized and taken to the Tibetans in a sedan chair, but refused to speak and was released. For his biographies, see CTS (63/1a-3a) and HTS (140/1b-3a).

Dong-kwan is a transcription of T'ung-kuan 潼關 (dung kuân), name of a famous mountain pass about 100 kilometers east of Ch'ang-an. Richardson suggests tung 東 (tung) "east" instead of our t'ung; but this seems unlikely, because the Tibetans would probably have transcribed "east" with their t- rather than with d-.

Text II

Translation of the North Face Inscription

1-2 The Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong was granted a certificate of Dku-rgyal. A summary of its content was put in writing on a stone pillar.

5-11 The btsan-po Khri-srong-lde-brtsan gave his oath and decreed by (the sign of) the eternal g-yung-drung that the sons or descendants of Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong should never be deprived, even once, of the great silver certificate.

12-17 Furthermore, during each generation of the sons and the grandsons of the btsan-po, one of Zla-gong's sons or descendants shall be placed above the inner corps of the King's retinue, and shall be forever provided with food to eat. It is so granted.

17-20 Among Zla-gong's sons or descendants, those who have the ability of Rje-blas shall be honored by decree for whatever they are capable of and shall be promoted. It is so granted.

21-27 If a son or descendant of Zla-gong is not disloyal to the btsan-po, whatever other faults he may commit, he shall not forfeit his life or property. When he receives

any sentence of guilt (?), on that one count he shall be reprimanded for such an offense, and (the punishment) shall be reduced. It is so granted.

27-31 If any of Zla-gong's sons or descendants is without issue, the childless one's servants, land, possessions, and cattle shall not be seized by the authorities, but shall be given to the nearest kinsman. It is so granted.

31-38 Even if one of Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong's sons or descendants who continues to hold in his hand the certificate of Dku-rgyal, is without issue or has been punished, the silver certificate shall not be seized by the authorities. To one of the sons or descendants of Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong or Zla-gong, whoever is nearest, the silver certificate shall be given under (the sign of) the eternal g-yung-drung. It is so granted.

38-41 A son or descendant of Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong's father, Zla-gong, shall be granted the rights and authority of Zhang-lon yi-ge-pa, and (the command of) three hundred soldiers.

41-47 The (position of) thousand-commander of the bodyguard from 'Phan-yul shall not be given to anyone else; of the sons or descendants of Gsas-slebs, the grandfather of Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong, whoever is capable and is a leader of the common people, shall be appointed by (the sign

of) the g-yung-drung to be the thousand-commander of the bodyguard from 'Pan-yul (i.e. 'Phan-yul). It is so granted.

47-50 After the son or descendant of Gsas-slebs of the Ngan-lam clan has been permanently granted the bodyguard from the district (i.e. of 'Phan-yul), he shall not be removed or transferred to some other minor (?) district. It is so granted.

50-55 Servants, fields, high pastures, grasslands, gardens, and so forth, whatever is held in the hand of Zla-gong's sons or descendants, shall not be seized or diminished by the authorities, and shall not be taken away by others. If they themselves are not willing, (the location) far or near, good or bad, shall not be changed. It is so granted.

55-58 If there is someone who, in a fit (?) of hatred, does something harmful to the life or property of Zla-gong's sons or descendants, he shall be suppressed by the authorities. It is so granted.

58-60 If a son or descendant of Zla-gong is not disloyal, slander shall not be listened to, censure shall not be contemplated, and punishment shall not be given. It is so granted.

61-65 If anyone from among his sons or descendants becomes actually disloyal to the btsan-po, he shall be sentenced to the worst cangue (?). Other male relatives shall not be involved in the proceedings (?), and their life and property shall not be taken away. It is so granted.

66-68 In short, the sons and descendants of Zla-gong, the father of Minister Stag-sgra Klu-khong, ...(the King) thought of their life and property in this way (?) ... .

Notes to the North Face Translation

2. Dku-rgyal was probably a title of high rank, conferred together with a silver certificate. (FKL)

The term dku-rgyal occurs in the THC, Chapter IV, in the so-called "List of Grants" (Bacot 1940-6:106, 139), which has been studied and retranslated by Róna-Tas (1955). A more recent translation is that of Beckwith (1977:207-8). Róna-Tas (1955:263-4) suggests that dku-rgyal originally meant merely "royal side" (with rgyal in adjectival position after the noun head), i.e. "the side of the king, in the court, among the courtiers". Later it would have become a permanent technical term for a definite social group or rank. (WSC)

6. Dbu-snyung was an oath sworn on the head. As pointed out by Laufer (1914:71, n. 1) the word snyung "lose, diminish" indicates that the thrust of the oath must have been "May I lose my head if...." For further remarks on the use of this term, see Uebach (1985:52-54).

7-8. Bu-tsha rgyud-'pheld "sons and/or male descendants". This expression occurs in this and other inscriptions in a number of variant and shortened forms with the same or similar meanings. See the Glossary (Part III below) under bu-tsha for a complete listing.

9. Dngul-gyi yi-ge "silver certificate". (FKL)

Officials in early Tibet held yi-ge "letters" of different precious or semi-precious materials, as indications or insignia of rank. These have been much discussed. They are alluded to in various early Chinese sources and are mentioned in a number of Tun-huang documents, most notably P.T. 1089. This material has been discussed and compared by Demiéville (1952:284-6, n. 2). Lalou (1955) has devoted a special study to P.T. 1089. The testimony of the Chinese sources is compared with corroborative material from Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (ja 21a) by Wang (1982:86, n. 4). Most recently, the entire question has been reviewed by Stein (1984). The yi-ge were alternatively called yig-tshang in OT. The Chinese equivalent was kao-shen 告身 "insigne of a functionary". Possible examples of yi-ge of the copper class were found in a grave at Sne-gdong in June, 1984. This find is discussed in Wen-wu 1985.9, pp. 42 and 45. (WSC)

10. G-yung-drung-du "by the sign of the g-yung-drung (symbol of immutability)", hence "permanently, firmly, immutably".

12. Sras-dbon "sons and grandsons". (FKL)

As pointed out by Uebach (1979:302) this expression is probably an honorific compound corresponding to bu-tsha "descendants". (WSC)

Text II

13. Zla-gong was the father of Stag-sgra Klu-khong, as revealed in lines 38-39.

14. Zham-'bring "attendants, retinue". This is a changed or sandhi form of zhabs-'bring. Other variant forms are zham-ring, zha-'bring, and zha-bring. They may have been ultimately derived from zhabs-phyir 'brang-ba "to follow as a servant". For discussion, see Róna-Tas (1955: 268, n. 46) and Macdonald (1971:276, n. 329).

18. Rje-blas-gyi rngo-thog-pa'i rnams "those who have the ability of Rje-blas". (FKL)

For this passage I would translate "those who are capable of service". See note to E. 7 above. (WSC)

22-23. Nongs-myig is clearly a nominal compound. The sense "fault, crime" for nongs(-pa) is well-known and is appropriate here, but nongs-myig is not to our knowledge attested elsewhere.

23-24. Srog-srid-la myi-dbab-par "he shall not forfeit his life or property". Richardson (1952), following notes of Sir Charles Bell, interprets srog-srid as "life or property", but the term is problematical. It occurs thrice in the present inscription and once in Text VII. (FKL)

Wang (1982:83) translates chüeh pu ch'u i ssu-hsing 決不處以死刑 "he assuredly will not be punished with death". Here he perhaps takes srid in the sense

"existence" and srog-srid as a synonym compound meaning "life". The expression srog-la dbab-bo occurs in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981:216, line 61) where it corresponds to lu 戮 "punish by execution", thus "they will be executed". The phrase apparently means very literally "it will be sent down to their lives". An intransitive or non-causative form of this expression occurs in Text IV, line 7: bdagi srog-la 'bab-pa man-chad-kyi cho-gar mdzad-pa "he took such steps that (it even came down to his own life:) even his own life was jeopardized." These examples suggest that when life alone was at stake only srog was used in such expressions. Srog-srid must be a non-synonym coordinate compound meaning "life and srid". The word srid in such contexts as ours (i.e. where it was granted to and possessed by the nobility) has been studied in detail by Bogoslovskij (1972:75-9), who remarks (p. 75), "il apparaît que le terme srid doive être compris comme un complexe de droits politiques et économiques sur la terre et la population qu'on possédait." He concludes (p. 79), "Il existait des différences de libertés très grandes entre les domaines aristocratiques vis-à-vis du pouvoir central. Le droit de propriété foncière de l'aristocratie s'accompagne d'un pouvoir politique sur la population, ensemble de droits désigné par le terme srid." Thus, Róna-Tas' translation of our term as "life and position" (1955:253) seems quite apt. Cf. also Richardson's new translation "lives and position" (1985:19). I would suggest "life and prerogatives" and translate the

entire line "sanctions shall not be imposed against his life or prerogatives". (WSC)

24. Bka'-gyod "guilt" (?). Bka'-gyod = bka'-bkyon "reprimand, punishment"; cf. Richardson (1952:32-33, n. 13). (FKL)

The syllable gyod is perhaps best known in the compound gyod-kha "litigation, legal proceedings". Now a legal proceeding is in a sense a "guilt proceeding", and the basic sense of "guilt" for gyod appears in certain phrases such as gyod-thog gyod brtsegs "to add one guilt on top of another, to compound one's guilt", gyod brdal byas "to have foisted off one's own guilt on another", gyod-log khra-log "a legal appeal (lit. to go against the guilt/penalty and oppose the judgement)". With gyod we should also compare 'gyod-pa "to repent, penance". The two words are surely closely related and derived from a single word-stem whose meaning was probably "penance; penalty". "Guilt" or "penalty" would seem to be a satisfactory rendering of bka'-gyod in our passage. (WSC)

29. Khol yul dang / nor pyugs "servants, land, possessions, and cattle". (FKL)

Cf. Richardson (1952:30): "servants, land, movable property, and cattle"; (1985:21): "the service-tenure lands, the wealth and cattle". Róna-Tas (1955:252) points out that nor-pyugs (= WT nor-phyugs "livestock") was already a compound in OT texts and translates "servants, land, and

property", apparently taking nor-phugs in an extended sense "chattels". Bogoslovskij (1972:73) replies that the basic sense of "livestock" is more correct here, and Wang (1982: 87, n. 9) takes a similar tack. But Bogoslovskij (op. cit., p. 72) goes a step further and argues, correctly I think, that syntax and punctuation require khol-yul to be taken as a compound in our passage. This binome is well-attested in OT texts, for it occurs in Text VIII. 36 below and also in the THC (pp. 110, 146) where Bacot translates "terres de fief" (cf. Macdonald 1971:257, n. 261: "tenure"). Bogoslovskij holds that khol, though cognate to 'khol-ba "to do service", meant in OT not simply "menial, servant, serf", senses normally covered by the word bran in the early texts (cf. note to lines 51-2 below), but something more like "vassal, servant of a sovereign, etc." (op. cit. p. 159, p. 25). Khol-yul would then basically mean (p. 70) "terres pour un service". In any case, it seems clear that the khol-yul were lands held by the nobility and subject to confiscation under certain conditions. I suggest that our passage be translated "land-holdings and livestock". (WSC)

30. For pu-nu-po Richardson (1952) read bu-nu-po but Rŏna-Tas (1955:252, n. 7) early on suggested that this was an error for pu-nu-po, which occurs in the THC (pp. 106, 138) where it was misunderstood by Bacot as a place-name. Another related form, phu-nu is found in Text VII W. 39. Phu-nu is well-known in WT and is usually glossed in the dictionaries as "elder and younger brothers", e.g. in Chos-

grags and Bod-Rgya. In modern Lhasa dialect it means "brothers" (Goldstein 1978:708). However, Bod-Rgya lists another meaning for it: "relatives, kinsmen", which is labeled as an Amdo dialect form. Róna-Tas has examined various WT examples of phu-nu and compared the OT occurrences of pu-nu-po and phu-nu. He concludes that the OT cases seem to refer to kinsmen or clansmen in general rather than to brothers in the narrow sense. Here we may cite two further examples. The first occurs in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981:220, line 80) where the word phu-nu corresponds to wang-fu mu-ti 王父母弟 in the Chinese version. This Chinese expression is now generally thought to mean "uncles and uterine brothers", although some commentators have argued for "uncles and (male) cousins". In the Chan-kuo-ts'e paraphrase (Imaeda 1980:66, line 1.18) we find 'gu'i rgyal-po'i pu-nu-pa (sic) zhig ... Though the passage is fragmentary, Imaeda is probably correct in rendering our line as "un parent (pu-nu-pa) du roi de 'Gu" (op. cit. p. 58). In the end it seems quite probable that in early texts phu-nu and pu-nu-po had a broad sense "kinsman, fellow clansman, relative of the clan" which is reflected in certain WT texts and survives to this day in Amdo dialect.

40. Zhang-lon yi-ge-pa. The word zhang-lon was a general expression denoting ministers. It is mentioned in HTS (216a/1a) as part of the term shang-lun-chih-pu-t'u-ch'ü 尚論掣逋突瞿 (źjang-luən tśhjäi- ~ tśhjät puo duət gju), perhaps from zhang-lon che(n)-po dgu "the many

great zhang-lon", and is said to be a tsung-hao 總號 "general term" for officials who are responsible for affairs of state. The yi-ge-pa were presumably the holders of the yi-ge, the "letters" or insignia indicating official rank; cf. note to line 9 above. An apparently synonymous term is yi-ge-can, as in Text VII E. 27-28.

41. 'Phan-yul is a valley north of Lhasa (see Wylie 1962:162, n. 442 and endpaper). Richardson (1952:33, n. 18) reports that it was a famous recruiting ground during the royal period. It was one of the stong-sde "thousand-districts" or fundamental units into which the early Tibetan empire was divided. For a study of the stong-sde see Uray (1982).

42. The stong-dpon was commander of a stong-sde "thousand-district".

51-2. The exact status of the bran has occasioned some discussion. For example, Rŏna-Tas (1955:263) concludes that they were serfs. Bogoslovskij (1972:93-102) holds that they were originally servants who later became (p. 102) "les producteurs directs travaillant les terres des propriétaires (ou s'occupant de leur bétail), asservis à ces derniers, exploités par eux", and who were thus "une classe opprimée, exploitée par une autre classe sociale: les propriétaires de la terre." Stein (1972:112) calls them "liegemen (or serfs)".

60. Glan-ka = klan-ka "censure, blame"; glan-ka myi-btsal "censure shall not be contemplated". (FKL)

Glan-ka occurs in Thomas (1951:452) in a rather badly damaged passage where it is translated as "reprisals", with no further comment or discussion. In Thomas' glossary (1955:121) it is defined as "revenge". Róna-Tas (1955:252, n. 11) follows Thomas and translates here "he shall not take reprisal against them." Thomas apparently derives glan-ka from glan-pa, a form of glon-pa "to reply, return an answer to". This word occurs in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981:215, line 54): gnod-par byed-pa ni lan-mkhon gyis / glan-no "As to those who do harm (to us), we shall pay them back with vengeance.", which corresponds in the Chinese version to nüe wo tse ch'ou 虐我則仇 "If they harm us, we shall take revenge." It is noteworthy that the entire expression lan-mkhon gyis glan-no corresponds to the single Chinese word ch'ou "take revenge".

Klan-ka is glossed by Jäschke and Das as "censure, blame", whence probably Richardson's renderings of our passage, (1952:31): "he will not ...seek to blame them", and (1985:25): "they shall not be called to account". The expression klan(-ka) 'tshol-ba is listed by Jäschke and Das meaning "to seek brawls" or "to foment disputes". For modern Tibetan Goldstein (1978:45) lists two meanings for klan-ka: (1) dispute, controversy, argument, question; (2) blame, censure, criticism. For the expression klan-ka 'tshol he gives "to seek/look for a dispute/controversy; to seek/look for something to blame/censure/criticize." For

WT, Bod-Rgya glosses klan-ka as "weak point, error, basis for dispute or contention". Wang's translation (1982:83) clearly takes glan-ka in this sense in the expression glan-ka myi-btsal, i.e. pu chi hsiao tz'u 不計小疵 "he will not count small defects/errors." The word klan-ka meaning "point of contention, basis for dispute, argument, controversy, etc." would seem to be derived from klan-pa, listed by Bod-Rgya as an archaic word meaning "to answer, counter, respond to, etc." This klan-pa appears to be an old variant of glan-pa. It would seem to be the entire expression klan-ka 'tshol-ba which means "to blame, censure, etc. (< lit. 'to seek out points of contention vis-à-vis someone')". The similarity between this phrase and our glan-ka btsal is striking and compelling. If there was really a difference in meaning between OT glan-ka and WT klan-ka, as Thomas may have thought, this does not seem clear from the text example he gives. Thus, it seems best not to adopt Róna-Tas' interpretation here. (WSC)

62-63. Gang nyes-pa'i sgor / bka-gyod rma'o "He shall be sentenced to the worst cangue (?)." Sgor may be the terminative of sgo "cangue". Perhaps there were cangues of different weights; the worst cangue would be the heaviest. (FKL)

The thrust of this passage seems to be that the usual system of mutual responsibility is to be abrogated, i.e. in cases of disloyalty only the guilty parties will suffer, and their guiltless clansmen will not be involved. I suggest

that sgo here means "gate" or "door" and stands for "party" in the juridical sense of "a person named in a legal action"; thus: "penalty shall be pronounced against the person of whosoever has been wicked." (WSC)

64. Khrin "legal proceedings" (?). (FKL)

Richardson (1952:34, n. 26) remarks that khrin, which also occurs in Text VII. 39, "appears to be the equivalent of khrims" and translates it as "proceedings". More recently he has taken khrin-la myi-gdags as "shall not be brought to trial" (1985:25). Thomas (1955:118) lists khrin (as an element in two compounds) and glosses it as "judgement?". The word also occurs in Thomas (1957:17, line 21) and is translated on p. 29 as "authority", but again in the introduction, p. 39, as "import"! Roná-Tas (1955:253, n. 13), in discussing our passage, states, "Here khrin stand(s) for khrim, which means right administration of justice", and then refers to Thomas' examples. Khrim, it should be noted, does not appear in dictionaries but occurs three times in the Shang-shu paraphrase as a variant of khrims "laws, penal measures, etc." (Huang 1981:214, line 49; 223, lines 94-95). It is not clear what cases of khrim Róna-Tas has in mind. Now we must ask what is meant by such descriptions as "equivalent of" and "stands for". Is khrin a dialectal variant of khrims ~ khrim? Or is it a morphologically different form with a difference in meaning or nuance? Or a totally independent word of similar or identical meaning? These are questions which must eventually be addressed. Let

us now compare the parallel passages in the present text and in Text VII:

Text II: gang nyes-pa'i sgor / bka-gyod rma'o // pu-nu-po gzhan khrin-la myi-gdags.....

"Against the person of whoever has been wicked, penalty shall be pronounced. Other kinsmen shall not be involved in the khrin."

Text VII W. 38-9:

gang-gis nyes-pa-la rma / phu-nu bu-tsha ma-nyes gzhan-la khrin myi-rma / gyod-la myi-gdags

"Whoever has offended shall be pronounced against; but against others, his kinsmen or male progeny who have done no wrong, khrin shall not be pronounced, and they shall not be involved in the penalty."

From these examples it appears that khrin was here a legal judgement or sentence. If khrin is related to khrims, or is a variant form of khrims, then it must be the penal or punitive aspects of khrims which are represented in this word, in the examples before us at least. One of Thomas' examples is the compound khrin-sa (1951:8, line 8). The text is badly damaged, but the word appears to be a variant form of the well-known WT compound khrims-sa "lawcourt". I know of no cases where khrims and khrin appear in one and the same text. If it should prove that none exist, then the case for khrin as a dialect form of khrims ~ khrim would be buttressed. (WSC)

CHAPTER 5

TEXT III: THE BSAM-YAS INSCRIPTION

Date of the Inscription: 779 or 791, founding of Bsam-yas

Location: courtyard of the temple of Bsam-yas

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Richardson (1949; 1985:26-31); Tucci (1950:43, 94); Wang (1982:165-169)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: Richardson (1985:plate 4): lines 2-21; Tucci (1950:fig. 3, opposite p. 44): lines (3)4-20(21); Tucci (1967:155): lines (3,4) 5-14(15); Tucci (1973:46, plate 43): lines 2-21; Wang (1982:13): lines 4-20; (ibid. p. 12): entire text, mostly illegible; Zwalf (1981:27): lines 12-21

The Bsam-yas Inscription consists of twenty-one lines and is found on a stone pillar by the main entrance of the great temple at Bsam-yas. Wang (1982:169) states that the inscription is well-preserved, and the pillar is indeed clearly visible in recent photographs (Jugoslovenska Revija 1981:250; Wang 1982:12). The inscribed portion of the

pillar (not including stone pedestal and canopy) appears to be about 3.5 to 4 meters in height in the photographs.

The inscription celebrates the founding of the temple of Bsam-yas (779 or 791 are the usually suggested dates), which occurred during the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan. The king is not mentioned by name in the text.

The inscription was first published by Richardson (1949:57-8) and again very soon by Tucci (1950:43, 94-5). More recently it has been studied by Wang (1982:165-169) and Richardson (1985:26-31). There are no published rubbings, but excellent photographs are available for all but the first line, on which, fortunately, all published versions agree. Our readings for the remaining twenty lines are based on the photographs.

Text III

Text of the Inscription

1. // ra: sa: dang / brag mar gyi
2. gtsug lag khang las stsogs
3. par: / dkon: mcog:[1] / gsum
4. gyi rten btsugs pa: dang / sangs:
5. rgyas: gyi[2] chos: / mdzad: pa: 'di /
6. nam: du yang myi: gtang: ma': zhig:
7. par: bgyi'o: / yo: byad: spyard[3] /
8. pa': yang: / de las: myi: dbri: myi:
9. bskyung bar: bgyi'o: / da':[4] phyin:
10. cad: / gdung: rabs: re re: zhing: yang:
11. btsan po: yab sras: gyis 'di:/[5]
12. bzhin yi dam: bca'o: / de las:
13. mna' kha: dbud: pa dag: gyang:[6] /
14. myi: bgyi: myi: bsgyur: bar: / 'jig:
15. rten las: / 'da's: pa': dang /
16. 'jig: rten: gyi: lha dang /[7] myi ma: yin:
17. pa': / thams: cad gyang:[8] dphang: du /
18. gsol: te / btsan po: yab sras: dang[9]
19. rje blon gun[10] gyis dbu snyung[11] dang bro: /
20. bor ro: /[12] gtsigs: gyi: yi: ge: zhib
21. mo gcig ni gud na mchis so /[13]

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R 1	Richardson (1949)
R 2	Richardson (1985)
T	Tucci (1950)
W	Wang (1982)

In R 1 all reversed gi-gu are regularized. R 1 and T do not include the double tsheg in their readings.

1) R 1, T: mchog
2) R 1: kyi; T: kyi
3) R 1, R 2; T, W: sbyard. R 1 reads spyard in his translation notes, p. 58, n. 5.
4) T: da
5) T has no "/".
6) R 1, W: kyang
7) R 1 has no "/".
8) R 1, W: kyang
9) W has "/" after dang.
10) R 1, W: kun
11) T: bsnyung
12) T, W: //
13) T, W: //

Text III

Translation

1-9 The establishment of the receptacles of the Three Jewels at the temples, etc. of Ra-sa and Brag-mar and this practice of the Buddha's doctrine there shall never be caused to be abandoned or destroyed. And, as to the provision of the necessary accoutrements, also, there shall be no reduction or diminution therefrom.

9-20 Hereafter, for generation after generation, the btsan-pos, fathers and sons, shall in accordance with this make their vow. Pursuant to that, in order that no violations of the oath shall be perpetrated or caused to come about, all the gods who have left this world and are in this world and all of the amānuṣa are invoked as witnesses. The btsan-pos, father and son, and the ruler and ministers have all sworn on their heads and avowed it.

20-21 A detailed text of the oath exists in a different place.

Notes to the Translation

1. Ra-sa was the old name for the present city of Lhasa. See note to Text I E. 61.

Brag-mar, now spelled Brag-dmar, is according to Tucci (1950:81, n. 86) the name of a place several miles north of Bsam-yas. It was the winter residence of the Tibetan kings and is mentioned often in the THA. For a complete listing of occurrences, see Wang et al. 1980:252-253. Wylie (1962: 167, n. 491) states that Brag-dmar was the region in which Bsam-yas was built.

13. Mna'-kha "oath" seems unattested in lexicographical sources. It occurs in Text IX. 52 in a passage nearly identical to the present one, and again in the "First Edict of Khri-srong-lde-btsan" (Tucci 1950:96): dkond-cog-gsum-gyi sku bslus-sam mna'-kha dbud-na "if one has ensnared the body of the Three Jewels or should abandon the oath..."

14-16. 'Jig-rten-las / 'da's-pa' "to have left this world, be beyond the world"; = Skt. lokottara "Superworldly, esp. (but not invariably) said of a Buddha and all his aspects and activities" (Edgerton 1953:465). Cf. also the corresponding Chinese term ch'u shih-chien 出世間 "to go out of the world, the supramundane". 'Jig-rten-gyi lha "gods of this world"; = Chinese shih-chien-t'ien 世間

Text III

天 "world-devas". The expression 'jig-rten-las / 'da's-pa' dang / 'jig-rten-gyi lha occurs again in Text IX. 53-54. It brings strongly to mind the 'jig-rten-las 'das-pa'i srung-ma "gods and goddesses who have passed beyond the six spheres of existence" and the corresponding earthly 'jig-rten-pa'i srung-ma or 'jig-rten ma-'das-pa'i srung-ma, all discussed by de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956:3-4).

CHAPTER 6

TEXT IV: THE RKONG-PO INSCRIPTION

Date of the Inscription: 799 (?) - 815, reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan

Location: G-yung-drung-rtse, north bank of the Gtsang-po, about 325 kilometers east of Lhasa

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Richardson (1954; 1972; 1985:64-71); Wang (1982:93-104); Ch'ang (1984); Uebach (1985)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: Ch'ang (1984:250); Uebach (1985:77-79); Wang (1982:plate 8)

This inscription is located at a rather remote site in an area known as De-mo-sa, in the (R)kong-po region about 325 kilometers east of Lhasa. Ch'ang (1984:237) identifies its location as Ta-yü-lung-tseng Village, Kuang-chiu Commune, Mi-jui District, Lin-chih County 林芝縣米瑞區廣久公社達域龍增村. Wang's account is similar, except that he substitutes "Fifth Production Brigade" for the name of the village (1982:100). Uebach (1985:47) describes the location as follows: "Die Inschrift liegt ca. 15 km von Nyingchi (29° 35' Nördl. Breite, 94° 30' östl. Länge, Operational Navigation Chart) entfernt, wenn

man dem schmalen Fahrweg entlang dem Ñaṅ-čhu bis zum Zusammenfluss mit dem gCaṅ-čhu und dann diesem am Nordufer in östlicher Richtung folgt, am Rande eines kleinen Dorfes namens g.Yuṅ-druṅ-rce, am Fuss der Ausläufer des lHa-ri gyaṅ-do ..." The region in question was traversed in August, 1913 by F.M. Bailey, who has given a detailed list of the 'u-lag stages between the area of the Monastery at De-mo and the confluence of the Nyang and Gtsang-po rivers (Bailey 1957:154). The first upstream stage, at 1 mile, is identified as Miri, which would seem to be Ch'ang's Mi-jui. At 3 1/2 miles is the fourth stage, Gonjo, which may be Ch'ang's Kuang-chiu. The fifth stage, one mile further on, is given as Yutro Dzeng. This may be the same place as Ch'ang's Da-yü-lung-tseng and Uebach's G-yung-drung-rtse. The inscription is carved on the flattened and prepared face of a very large boulder or rock out-cropping. About half of the text lies beneath the present level of the soil surface but has been excavated and exposed to view. The stone face is protected by a small shelter consisting of a rock slab roof supported by stone pillars. An unpublished photograph taken by Professor Ch'ang Feng-hsüan in 1961 shows the entire site as open and grassy, but Dr. Uebach's 1982 photo reveals that the immediate area of the boulder, now scattered with loose rocks, has been enclosed with a protective wall built of the same rocks.

The inscription, which occupies a surface of 1.69 meters high by 1.51 to 1.62 meters wide (Uebach 1985:50) consists of 21 lines and is divided into two parts. The

first part (lines 1-11) records a decree of relief granted to the house of Kar-po of Rkong during the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, in response to a complaint of injustice at the hands of government tax officials. The text reveals that the house of Kar-po claimed common descent from the mythical royal ancestor Nya-khri Btsan-po. In addition it is pointed out that a noble forbear had rendered essential service to the crown in the period when the dynasty was founded, for which reason he had been granted various privileges. Rkong-po is known to have enjoyed special territorial status within the Tibetan empire. Its rulers were rgyal-phran "kinglets"; and, as Uebach (1985:62-4) has shown, it was not part of the centralized administration and tax structure of the realm. The attempted intrusion by fiscal officers of the central government was therefore viewed as an infringement upon the hereditary prerogatives of the princely house of Kar-po.

The second part of the inscription (lines 12-21) is a supplement to the earlier decree. It ensures the succession of the house of Kar-po and details its rights and privileges in Rkong. This addendum was granted by Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, who is always referred to in the text as Lde-srong, without the honorific elements Khri ----- brtsan. This has been taken to suggest that the new king had not yet actually acceded at the time the grant was made.

The text of this inscription was first published by Richardson (1954) in the form of a hand-copy made for him in situ by Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che in 1950. A second study

(Richardson 1972) gives a new reading of the text, with revised translation, incorporating the early transcription recovered from the collection of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu. This version is republished virtually unchanged in Richardson (1985). The first published facsimile of the inscription appeared in Wang (1982:plate 8) accompanying his new study of the text. It appears to be a photograph of a rubbing and is only partially legible. The lower right-hand portion of the inscribed face appears to be separated from the rest of the stone, as if broken. What is clearly the same text facsimile has now been reproduced in Ch'ang (1984). Our copy of this reproduction is not clear, but Professor Ch'ang has kindly sent us two excellent photos made from the original negative. His article makes clear (1984:237) that the photo was made by him in situ in February, 1961 and that the negative from which the photographs are reproduced is a composite of two different negatives, a procedure necessitated by difficult light conditions at the site. There is thus no breakage on the stone face after all. Close study of Professor Ch'ang's photographs reveals that they are shots of the stone itself rather than of an ink-squeeze or other such estampage. The inscribed face seems to have been treated with a white substance to highlight the indented portions. The most recent study of the inscription is that of Uebach (1985). This is to date the most thorough treatment of the text and its historical and epigraphical significance and is accompanied by a very detailed and exact description of the location and condition

of the site. It takes as basis two excellent published photographs of the full inscription (pp. 77-79) and numerous unpublished photos of detailed portions of the text, all made by Dr. Jampa L. Panglung during a visit to Tibet in 1983. In addition to the various specialized treatments of the inscription, it has figured in one way or another in many general studies of the royal period. One of these which deserves special mention here is that of Macdonald (1971), who has translated lines 3-5 (p. 200) and lines 6-11 (pp. 298-299).

Our readings are based on the photos of Professor Ch'ang and Dr. Uebach. As is often the case, the two originals complement each other. There are three seriously damaged portions of the inscription (lines 3, 6, and 15). In lines 6 and 15 both originals show lacunae, but in line 3 Ch'ang's photo reveals partially readable elements where Uebach's photo is not legible. There is considerable variation in the size of the letters in certain words and phrases of this inscription. These differences have been noted by Ch'ang and Uebach. We have not attempted to reproduce them in our transcription.

Text IV

Text of the Inscription

1. ///[1] lha btsan po khri srong lde brtsan dang / lde srong yab sras kyi ring la' //[2]
2. //[3] rkong kar[4] po la gtsigs gnang ba'[5] //
3. ///[6] kar po mang po rje dang // blo[n] po g-.....-i[s] gsold ba'[7] // thog ma phywa ya bla bdag drug gi sras las /
4. nya gri[8] btsan po myi yul gyi rjer // lha ri gyang dor gshegs pa tshun chad / dri[9] gum btsan po phan chad[10] / gdung rabs bdun gyi bar du // phying ba stag
5. rtse na bzhugs bzhugs //[11] dri gum btsan po'i sras /[12] gcen nya khyi dang /[13] gcung sha khyi gnyis la[14] //[15] gcung sha khyi ni / lha btsan po / gcen nya khyi[16]
6. [n]i - - - - - - - //[17] gcen kar po ni / thog ma yas gshegs pa'i[18] tshe // mched gnyis kyi / sku bla gnyan po gsol ba dang / sku bla de mo dang bshos pa[19]
7. 'i lha bdag bgyid kyis kyang[20] / lha sras kyi sku[21] rim[22] gro la[23] / bdagi srog la' bab[24] pa man chad kyi cho gar mdzad pa / srog phongs ma bgyis te //[25] lha sras kyi chab
8. srid 'di ltar mtho / dbu rmog brtsand /[26] yong lha sras gnam dang 'dra ba'i chags[27] 'og na //[28] gnam kol[29] du gnang ba'ang[30] cis[31] bas zhig mchis na /[32] bdag
9. cag lta zhig /[33] thog ma mched gyes nas // pha myes dang po lha myi ma phye ba tshun chad / bde skyid[34] cing / chu srid g-yung drung dang 'dra bar gnang gis kyang / deng sang
10. du khab so[35] dpon sna dagis[36] //[37] khral kyi[38] sna 'tshal[39] te / gtses shing mchis na //[40] nam du'ang bde bar thugs bag[41] mdzad pa'i //[41a] gtsigs tsam zhig[42] ci gnang zhes

11. gsold nas //[43] de bzhin du gnang ste //[44] gtsigs 'phra men sgrom bu stsald ba'i dper bris pa'[45] //[46]

12. ///[47] btsan po lha sras khri srong lde brtsan gyi[48] ring la //[49] kar po'i gtsigs[50] gnang ba las

13. lha sras lde srong gi sku ring la //[51] gtsigs[51a] snga ma bas bskyed par //[52] bka's / gnang b'a[52a] /[53]

14. // nam zhar gyang[54] //[55] rkong kar po'i rgyal por gzhan myi gzhug par //[56] kar po mang po rje'i bu tsa 'phel rgyud las stsald par[57] gnang ngo /

15. kar po mang po [rje'i][57a] rgyud rabs [chad na][57b] gcen rgyal po / kar po'i ming[58] myi rlag par //[59] rgyal por yang //[60] kar po rgyal brtsan gyi rgyud las[61]

16. bsko'o[62] // rgyal brtsan gyi rgyud kyang rabs chad na //[63] nye 'tshams las //[64] kha chems kyis gang //[64a] gsol[65] ba'i nang nas //[66] spu dang[67]

17. sbyard te //[68] gang 'os pa gcig stsald bar[68a] gnang ngo //

18. //[69] rkong kar po'i bran dang // zhing[70] 'brog[71] //[72] slan chad myi dbri zhing // rje blas dang // dpya' khral bla skyes myi dbab pa[73] dang /[74]

19. stsang dphya'[75] nas dang // 'bras gang 'bul yang[76] rung // 'bul ba'i sa tshigs //[77] da ltar[78] gyi[79] las myi[79a] bsring bar // lha sras //[80]

20. yab kyi bka's // gnang ba[81] [bzhin] du //[82] lha sras lde srong gi sku ring la // rje //[83] blon mol te[84]

21. /[85] bka's / /[86] gnang ngo //[87]

Text IV

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

C	Ch'ang (1984)
R 1	Richardson (1954)
R 2	Richardson (1972)
R 3	Richardson (1985)
W	Wang (1982)
U	Uebach (1985)

1) R 1, R 2, W, U: //

2) R 1, R 3: /

3) R 2, W: ø

4) R 1, R 2, R 3: dkar. W reads kar in his Tibetan transcription but dkar in his romanized version.

5) R 2: ba'a

6) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: //

7) R 1: blon po ...-i-...gis gsold ba'; R 2: blon po lha'i zung gis gsold ba'; R 3: blon po lha'i zung gis gsold ba'; W, C: blon po gya'i rung tsis gsold ba'; U: °xxxxxxxxsold ba'. Blon po is fairly clear in Ch'ang's photos, the -n being slightly damaged. The next word begins with g- and therefore cannot be lha as in R 2 and 3. Below the g- is either a subscript or an abrasion on the surface of the stone. Possible readings might be -ya- as in W and C, or -ru-.

8) R 1: khyi; R 2: khri; W, R 3: khri

9) W: dri

10) U: btsan po xxxx

11) W: /

12) R 1, R 2, and R 3 have no "/".

13) R 2 has no "/".

14) R 2, R 3: las

15) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

16) C, U: khyi

17) R 1: ...../; R 2, R 3: ni rkong yul du bzhugs ste /; W: ni rkong kar po'i rje /; C: ni / rkong kar po'i rje //;U: nixxxxxxx //

18) W: pa'i

19) R 2, R 3: pa'i

20) R 1: lha sras gnyis kyi kyang; R 2, R 3: lha bdag bgyid kyis kyang; W: yab (-b is subscribed) lha bdag bgyid kyis (-s is subscribed) kyang; C: bam lha bdag bgyid kyis kyang

21) R 2, R 3: sku'i

22) R 2: rim

23) C: grol

24) R 2, C, U: la 'bab

25) R 2, R 3, C: /

26) R 1: brtsan pa; R 2: brtsan pa /; R 3: brtsan /

27) R 1, R 2: chabs

28) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

29) W writes kol in transcription, khol in transliteration.

30) C: b'ang

Text IV

31) R 2, R 3: ci

32) C: //

33) W, C: //

34) R 1, R 2, R 3, W, U: skyid

35) R 1, C: kha bso

36) W: dagis; For sna dagis C has snang gis.

37) R 2: /

38) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: gyi

39) W: btsal

40) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

41) R 1: par; R 2, R 3, C: pag

41a) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

42) W: zhig

43) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

44) R 2, R 3, C: /

45) R 2: pa'a

46) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

47) R 1, R 2, R 3, W, U: //

48) W: gyi

49) W: /

50) R 1, R 2, R 3, W, U: gtsigs

51) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

51a) R 3: gtsigs

52) R 1, R 3, W: /

52a) R 1, R 2, R 3, U: ba'

53) C has no "/"

54) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: kyang

55) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

56) R 1, R 2, R 3: /

57) R 1, R 2, R 3, C: bar

57a) R 1, R 2, R 3, W, C: rje'i; U: xx

57b) R 1, C: .....; R 2, R 3: chad na /; W: [chad na]; U: xxx /

58) R 1: myi

59) R 1, R 2; R 3 /; W: ø

60) W: /

61) R 1, R 2, R 3: las /

62) R 1, W, C: bskol

63) R 2, U: /

64) W: /

64a) R 3: /

65) R 2, R 3: gsold

66) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

67) R 1, W: spung nga; R 2, R 3: spus dang

68) R 2: sbyar te /; R 3, W: sbyar te //

68a) W: par

69) W: ø

70) W: zhing

71) U: 'prog

72) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: /

73) R 1: dbang ba

74) W has no "/" after <u>dang</u>.

75) R 1: ra phyab; R 2, R 3: ra phywa; W: ra khyab

76) R 1: gang .....; W: gang ....b....

77) W: ø

78) R 1: ....khrar; W: .....ltar

yi

R 3: mi

80) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: ø; U: /

81) C: bar; U: xx

82) R 1, R 2, R 3: bzhin du /; W: bzhi/n du //; C: bzhin du //; U: xxn du //

83) R 2, R 3: /

84) R 1, R 2, R 3, W: te

85) R 1, R 2, R 3, W, U: ø; C: //

86) R 2: ø

87) R 2: /

Translation

1-2 A decree granted to Rkong Kar-po during the time of the god, btsan-po, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan and Lde-srong, father and son:

3-5 Kar-po Mang-po-rje and the minister ..... made supplication: In the beginning, from the time when Nya-gri Btsan-po, (who came) from the sons of the phywa, Ya-bla-bdag-drug, went to Lha-ri-gyang-do as ruler of the land of men, until the time of Dri-gum Btsan-po, during the course of seven generations, they were dwelling at Phying-ba-stag-rtse. As to Dri-gum Btsan-po's sons, between the two of them, the elder brother Nya-khyi and the younger brother Sha-khyi, the younger brother Sha-khyi (was) the god, btsan-po, and the elder brother Nya-khyi.....

6-7 As for the elder brother, Kar-po, when he first came from above he made offerings to the powerful sku-bla of the two brothers; and the god begotten with the sku-bla Demo assumed control (over Kar-po). Nevertheless, for the honor of the Son of the Gods he (Kar-po) took such steps that (it even came down to his own life:) even his own life was jeopardized; and he did not show concern for his life.

Text IV

7-9 The government of the Son of the Gods was thus exalted and his (helmet:) authority was mighty. All in all, under the Son of the Gods' control (?), which is like the heavens, our appointment as servants of Heaven was thoroughly accomplished by whatever means. (And in as much as this was so:)

9-11 As to us in particular, after the brothers had in the beginning parted, from (the time of) the first ancestors when gods and men had not yet separated, we were happy, and it had been granted that our prerogatives be like the eternal g-yung-drung (i.e. immutable). But nowadays, in as much as the khab-so officials have demanded various kinds of taxes and have been doing harm (to us), we have pleaded merely that some sort of decree be granted which would be so kind as to show concern for our eternal felicity. It having been so granted, the text was written in the form of a copy (kept in) an inlaid (or gilt) chest which had been bestowed (on us).

12-13 Following upon Kar-po's decree, granted in the time of the btsan-po and Son of the Gods, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, there was granted by royal command in the lifetime of the Son of the Gods, Lde-srong, a decree more (caused to grow:) extensive than before:

14 Forevermore, no one else shall be appointed as king of Rkong Kar-po; it (the kingship) shall be bestowed

from among the sons or descendants of Kar-po Mang-po-rje. It is so granted.

15-17 If the lineage of Kar-po Mang-po-rje should be cut off, then, in order that the name of Kar-po, the elder brother king, shall not be lost, (someone) from the line of Kar-po Rgyal-brtsan shall be appointed king. And if the line of Rgyal-brtsan should also be cut off, then from whoever among the relatives have been invoked by the will, in accordance with their qualifications, one among whichever of them are worthy shall be appointed. It is so granted.

18-19 The liegemen and the fields and pastures of Rkong Kar-po shall henceforth not be diminished. Services, tributes, taxes, and (the donation of) gifts shall not be imposed. And, as to the grain tributes, whatever (type of) barley and rice they pay, no matter what, the transport stage where it is delivered up shall not be made more distant than that of the present time.

19-21 According to what was granted by command of the Son of the Gods, the father, (now) in the time of the Son of the Gods, Lde-srong, ruler and ministers having consulted, by decree it is so granted.

Text IV

Notes to the Translation

1. Lde-srong is a form of the name Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, who was the son of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan. The absence of the honorific syllables Khri--------brtsan in the name may indicate that the text of this inscription was composed before the actual accession of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan.

2. Rkong is an old name of the modern district of Kong-po, which lies at the lower end of the Nyang-po (or Myang) valley about 325 kilometers east of Lhasa (cf. Wylie 1962:96). Map coordinates for it, as given by Wang (1982: 102, n. 3) are 29.9° north, 93.3° east. Occurrences of the name (also spelled Kong) in various Tun-huang texts are summarized in Lalou (1965:200-201), and examples for the THC are discussed by Uebach (1985:61-62).

Rkong Kar-po, "Kar-po of Rkong", was the title of the ruling house of Rkong. Variant forms listed by Lalou (loc. cit.) are Rkong-rje Dkar-po, Rkong-de Dkar-po, Rkong-rje'i Dkar-po, and Rkong-'di Dkar-po.

3. Kar-po Mang-po-rje. This name appears among those of the oath-takers who were signatories to the "Edict of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan at the Time of the Foundation of Karchung Chapel", recorded in the Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston, ja 130a

(Tucci 1950:103). He is identified as a rgyal-phran "king-let, feudatory prince".

The phywa were a class of sky deities in the indigenous pre-Buddhist religion. See de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956:202); Stein (1959:61; 1981b:186, 291 ; and Macdonald (1971: 270 and 350ff). The early belief that the phywa influenced human beings is reflected in a WT survival of the word in the sense "luck, lot, fortune" and in certain compounds and expressions having to do with divination, e.g. phywa-mkhan and phywa-pa "fortune teller", etc.

Ya-bla-bdag-drug was the name of a mythical royal ancestor, or, according to some authorities, six such ancestors. The word occurs in the THC (Bacot 1940-6:81, 85) in the form Yab-lha-bdag-drug and in WT sources written Yab-la-bdal-drug and Yab-lha-bdal-drug (Richardson 1954:163). It is translated by Bacot (op. cit., p. 85) as "(les) six pères Maîtres Divins" and by Tucci (1949:II:730) as "the six classes of yab-lha" (yab-lha "father-gods, ancestral spirits"). Hoffmann (1950:150-151), Stein (1959:57; 61, n. 175; 64), and Macdonald (1971:199-200) treat the term as the name of a single individual, as does Richardson in his studies of the present inscription.

4. Nya-gri Btsan-po was the mythical founder of the Yarlung dynasty. The name is written Khri Nyag-khri Btsan-po and Lde Nyag-khri Btsan-po in the THC (81, 86), and is often spelled Gnya'-khri Btsan-po in traditional histories. There are, however, many variant spellings in WT sources,

for a listing of which see Haarh (1960:45). The spelling nya-gri is attested only in the present inscription. An alternate name for this figure in OT texts was 'O-lde-spu-rgyal. See Text I E. 5, note. For further discussion, see Haarh (1960: Chap. 9) and Macdonald (1971:198-202).

Lha-ri-gyang-do is the name of a mountain. The problem of its location has been much discussed in the literature (for a listing, see Uebach 1985:48, n. 12). According to Uebach (p. 48) the people of the De-mo area unequivocally identify this name as that of the mountain which stands immediately behind the site of the Rkong-po Inscription and which is clearly visible in her photograph on p. 73.

Dri-gum Btsan-po was the eighth mythical king of Tibet and was thus the seventh king to follow Nyag-khri Btsan-po. His name also occurs in the THC (e.g. 81, 87). In WT sources it is usually spelled Gri-gum Btsan-po. For other variants, see Haarh (1960:46).

4-5. Phying-ba-stag-rtse (usually spelled Pying-ba-stag-rtse in the THC and often written 'Phying-ba-stag-rtse in WT texts) "Tiger Peak of Phying-ba" was the original fortified seat or castle of the Yarlung kings. It was built on (')P(h)ying-ba, a rocky hill above the present-day village of 'Phyong-rgyas in the Yarlung valley (Tucci 1950:31; Wylie 1962:170, n. 510). In Text VIII. 51-2 this fortress is called Phying-ba'i skun-mkhar "the castle of Phying-ba". For sketch maps of the area, see Richardson (1963) and Wen-wu 1985:9:16.

5. The names of these brothers, Sha-khyi and Nya-khyi, appear a number of times in the THC (98-9, 126-7), where, in disagreement with our text, Sha-khyi is identified as elder and Nya-khyi as younger brother (THC 99, 127). THC agrees that Nya-khyi became prince of Rkong. Later histories list three brothers whose names are spelled Sha-khri, Nya-khri, and Bya-khri.

6. For the lacuna at the beginning of this line Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's version (ap. Richardson 1972 and 1985) reads ni Rkong yul-du bzhugs-ste "dwelt in the land of Rkong".

Thog-ma yas gshegs-pa'i tshe "when he first came from above..." With Uebach (1985:67, n. 96) we hold that this statement is purely geographical and refers to the time when Kar-po came from Phying-ba-stag-rtse to Rkong. The elevation of the Yarlung valley at its intersection with the Gtsang-po is 11850 ft. (3611 m) and that of the De-mo area is about 9600 ft. (2926 m); see Bailey (1957:169 and 153-5 respectively).

The sku-bla were tutelary deities who exercised particular influence upon the lives and power of the royal house and the nobility (Macdonald 1971:295). The word sku-bla occurs six times in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981: lines 15, 34, 79, 109, 125, 126) corresponding to passages in the Chinese original which make very cryptic references to sacrificial ceremonies. Stein (1983:201-203), having examined these Shang-shu passages in detail and

compared the more discursive medieval commentaries on them, shows that sku-bla corresponds to such Chinese expressions as t'ien-ti shen-ming 天地神明 "the spirits of Heaven and Earth" and kuei-shen 鬼神 "spirits, supernatural beings".

Gnyan-po "powerful". This compound is taken as the proper name of a spirit by Richardson (1954:161; 1972:34), Ch'ang (1984:242, n. 18), and Uebach (1985:67). Macdonald (1971:298-299) sees it as a form of gnyan "a type of earth spirit". Richardson (1985:67) apparently follows this in his new translation, though his glossary still lists Gnyan-po as a name. Wang (1982:101) interprets gnyan-po as an adjective meaning ling-ying 靈應, "efficacious". As no spirit having the name Gnyan-po has been identified by Ch'ang, Richardson, or Uebach, this interpretation remains moot. Whether the compound gnyan-po ever occurs in early texts in the nominal sense of gnyan seems questionable. Macdonald (1971:306) takes it thus in one text example, but there it may well be an adjective. Even in WT texts the matter is uncertain. For example, in each case where Snellgrove (1967) translates gnyan-po as the noun "a Fury" it is almost certainly actually an adjective modifying the preceding nominal element. This adjectival use of gnyan-po is in fact quite common. The word occurs in WT texts and in modern Tibetan meaning "stern, severe, fierce; cruel; strict, rigorous". In OT texts it is also well-attested, for we find it in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1982:225, line 109) ri gnyan-po dang chu chen-po which echos the Chinese

phrase ming shan ta ch'uan 名山大川 "the famous mountains and the great rivers" further on in the Shang-shu text. As Stein (1983:15) has observed, the heights referred to here are the sacred or holy mountains to which the ancient Chinese made sacrifices. He therefore takes gnyan-po to mean "sacré" and "puissant". It may be noted that the sense, "powerful" approaches that of Wang's rendering "efficacious". Again, in the famous prayers of De-ga g-yul-tshal (Thomas 1951:93) we find the phrase sku-bla gnyan (Thomas mistakenly transcribes gzhan) // chab-srid che. Macdonald (1971:299) translates the first phrase as "eut pour sku-bla un Gnyan", but this is grammatically impossible and violates the parallelism of the passage as a whole. We must rather follow Stein (1983:204) and read: "son sku-bla était sacré (ou puissant)" for the first clause and add "and his government was great" for the second. The WT and modern senses of gnyan-po seem to be direct semantic outgrowths of the earlier meanings proposed by Stein and Wang.

De-mo is generally identified with Kong (~Skong)-btsun De-mo, a mountain-goddess who in WT texts is said to be a leader of the sa-bdag (local earth gods) of Kong-po (de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:221; see also Macdonald 1971:299-300). As has often been pointed out, the area near the site of our inscription is called De-mo-sa "place of Demo", and the compound De-mo is part of several other place-names in the region (Wylie 1962:96, 176).

6-7. Sku-bla De-mo dang bshos-pa'i lha "the god begotten with the sku-bla De-mo". The grammar of the phrase seems to indicate this reading, but the mythological background of the events referred to is not known from other sources. It has been the subject of much discussion in some of the various studies of the text.

7. Bdag bgyid. Uebach (1985:68, n. 98) raises the possibility of interpreting lha bdag bgyid as a name but points out the fact that bgyid is not attested as an element of OT proper names. Her objections may also apply in the case of Wang (1982:101), who takes bdag bgyid as a name. The expression bdag bgyis occurs in Thomas (1957:68, line 168) where it seems to mean "acted as lord of...." Elsewhere (op. cit., p. 71, lines 229-230) we find the closely related expression bdag mdzad in the passage lha Myang lha-bu-mo [zhig] yul-ky[i] / bdag mdzad-cing / bzhugs / yul Myang yul Shing-nagi bdag mdzad-cing / bzhugs / which Thomas (p. 89) translates "A goddess, Myaṅ goddess, girl acting as the country's lord, acting as lord of the country, Myaṅ country, Black Woods." Similarly, in Text IX. 34-5 we have chab-srid-kyi mnga'-bdag mdzad-pa man-cad "down to the time when they act as governmental (power-masters:) rulers." Cf. also Text VI. 27, in Richardson's restored version: chab-srid-kyi mnga'-bdag mdzad. Non-honorific parallel constructions are attested in the dictionaries, e.g. Das: bdag-po byed-pa "to take possession of, reign over"; Bod-Rgya: bdag byed "to be in charge of, to control".

Kyis-kyang "nevertheless". As suggested by Uebach (1985:67, n. 98) one might expect a concessive or adversative sense here (cf. line 9 gis-kyang). The contextual reason for this may be that when Nya-khyi became established in Rkong he came under the aegis and control of the deities of that area. That Rkong had its own lha, named Des-legs or Tes-legs, is known from various OT sources (Lalou 1965: 201), though we do not know whether or not this god was held to be the offspring of De-mo. In any case, Kar-po may no longer have been morally accountable for the welfare of the royal house, since he now had his own land and his own gods. But in spite of this he came to the aid of the lha-sras, even to the extent of putting his own life in jeopardy.

Sku-rim-gro is the honorific form of rim-gro. This word occurs in Text XIII in reference to ceremonies performed at a tomb in honor of the dead. In Thomas (1951:337, line A 2) it seems to refer to the honor of a person (cf. 1955:94). In Thomas (1957:120, line 16) it apparently denotes ritual behavior or action of some sort. Thomas (p. 130) renders it as "ceremony".

Bdagi srog-la bab-pa "it (reached down to:) jeopardized his own life". The corresponding transitive expression, using forms of the verb 'bebs-pa, meant "to execute (someone)"; cf. Text II N. 23-24, note.

Cho-gar is terminative of cho-ga. This word occurs in the Sino-Tibetan Glossary (Li 1961:331) where it glosses Chinese kuei-tse 軌則 "laws, rules, regulations". It appears a number of times in Myy. where it has a rather

wide range of meanings: "manner, mode, way, style; usage, method; rite, ritual". Wang (1982:101) and Ch'ang (1984: 244) emphasize the ritual or ceremonial senses of the word, with Wang remarking that it includes various sacrifices, prayers, and ceremonies. Uebach (1985:68, n. 91) chooses the "non-ceremonial" aspects, thus: "Tat, Handlung". Our translation, "measures", is meant to be neutral on this question, since it is difficult to decide on the basis of context whether and to what extent these "measures" were religious or secular.

Srog-phongs ma-bgyis-te. Phongs is a variant form of phang-ba ~ phangs-pa "to save, spare, pity, love, be concerned about or chary of". Srog-phongs would therefore mean "life-concern, life-chariness" i.e. "fear, anxiety, or solicitude for one's life". The word occurs in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981:215, lines 59-60): de-la srog-phongs ma-byas-te / ngo 'phral-la thug-pa ni bya-dga' cher sbyin "As to that (i.e. the battle), those who (not doing life-concern:) without regard for their lives, forthwith go to meet it, will be greatly rewarded." This corresponds in the original to kung to yu hou shang 功多有厚賞 "If their merit is great, they shall have generous rewards." Uebach (1985:68, n. 100) mentions a note of Stein (1983:211) "srog-'phongs ou spongs 'tuer'". This appears to refer to the Shang-shu paraphrase. In any case, as we have seen, srog-phongs cannot mean "to kill". Furthermore, srog-phongs and srog-spongs are very different expressions. For the latter we must return to the paraphrase (Huang 1981:221, line 86):

dmag-myi-phyogs kyang srog-spongs ma-'tshal-bar // spyugs-te. Spongs here means "to renounce, give up, cast away", thus, "As to the troops, they are to banish (the thought) that they should not wish to lay down their lives." The original says: hsü tsai, fu-tzu 勗哉，夫子 "Exert yourselves, oh officers!" Ironically, phongs and spongs, though different in surface meaning, are probably ultimately cognate and belong to a word family whose basic sense is "to let loose, let go of, release". From this we see several specializations of meaning:

1) "let loose" ⟶ 'phangs-pa "spare, save" ⟶ phang-ba, phangs-pa, phongs-pa "to spare, be sparing of, chary of, concerned about"
2) "let go of" (+ causative prefix) ⟶ spang-ba ~ spong-ba "cast away, throw aside; give up, renounce"

Another possible cognate subset is:

3) "let go of, let loose of" ⟶ 'phongs-pa "to lose" also; ⟶ "cast down, straitened, poverty-stricken"

8. Yong. Stein (1983:160-161) has shown that this word in various OT sources corresponds to such words as fu 夫 and chin 今 in parallel Chinese texts. These Chinese words are used to introduce text segments or paragraphs, or serve as logical links between such segments. They are often translated as "now, thus, and so, etc." In the Shang-shu paraphrase yong occurs twice, and in the first case it

corresponds to Chinese wei 惟 (cf. Huang, op. cit., p. 210, n. 4). In Old Chinese texts such as the bronze inscriptions and the Shang-shu, wei was actually a copula and in clause initial position meant "it is that...; it is the case that ...." But by T'ang times this was not well understood, and wei was usually interpreted as if it were the same as fu 夫. This would have been the sense the Tibetans learned for it. Another Chinese equivalent of yong given by Stein is fan 凡 "in general". In fact, the word yong seems to be cognate to yongs "all, whole". Its basic meaning would seem to be "in all, all things considered, in general, basically; at all times, heretofore, etc." Its temporal aspect is that emphasized by Huang in her translation of the Shang-shu paraphrase, i.e. li-lai 歷來 "heretofore". This temporal sense is not limited to events in the past, as can be seen in Text VIII. 35-36 / nam-zhig-na // Zhang Nya-sto-la / bu-tsha rgyud yong myed-pa zhig-du gyur-na // "If in future it should ever happen to Zhang Nya-sto that the line of his sons or male descendants were no more ...." Yong has been combined with ye "basically, originally; eternally; definitely" to form a compound yong-ye which is listed in old dictionaries as an obsolete word meaning "in all; definitely; ever before, etc." A related form yongs-ye "certainly" is given by Bod-Rgya (p. 2593, under ye).

Chags-'og-na "under the control (?)". The phrase chags-'og is attested in various OT texts, frequently in the expression chags-'og-du 'dus "to have gathered under the

chags ....", e.g. in P.T. 16, 26a 1. (We are grateful to Dr. Helga Uebach for drawing our attention to this and other examples.) Chags-'og-du 'dus occurs twice in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981:225, line 112; 228, line 133). In the same text we also find (p. 225, line 109) the phrase chab-'og-du 'dus "to have gathered under the rule or control". Stein (1983:211; 1984:270) suggests that chags is equivalent to chab in line 133 of the paraphrase; and for chags in our inscription Uebach (1985:69, n. 102) adopts this interpretation. Context would seem to bear out the idea that chags means something like "rule" or "control", but the problems of its etymological origins and exact meaning remain. It can hardly be a random orthographic variant of chab. This would be paleographically unlikely. Furthermore, the word is not rare or sporadic but occurs in both inscriptional and manuscript texts and is limited to the specific expression chags-'og. Phonological variation or morphophonemic derivation would seem to be out of the question; -b/-gs alternations are not regular features of OT word families. Chags must be an independent word and deserves consideration in its own right. Perhaps future studies of other examples will illuminate it. For the nonce, a possible cognate may be seen in chags "to belong", which occurs a number of times in Thomas (1951) in the phrase ....la chags "to belong to ..." Also of interest is gnyer-chags, glossed by Thomas (1955:135) as "placed in charge of" (gnyer-ba "to be in charge of"). Perhaps chags in the expression chags-'og means basically "attachment, an attached

state", i.e. "inclusion, possession, custody, control". Chags-'og-du might then mean "under the control of". The matter deserves further study.

Gnam-kol-du gnang-ba'ang cis bas-zhig mchis. The structure of this line is intricate and deserves a close parsing. Kol has generally been read as a form of khol. We take khol here as "servant, vassal"; cf. Text II N. 29, note, and Bogoslovskij (1972:159, n. 25). Gnam-kol-du gnang-ba would presumably mean "to appoint (us) as servants (or vassals) of Heaven." Cis is the instrumental of the interrogative/indefinite pronoun ci "what; whatever", thus: "by whatever means, by any or all means whatsoever, etc." Bas is a transitive verb meaning "to finish, complete, do thoroughly or to perfection." Its object is the clause ending in gnang-ba, thus, gnam-kol-du gnang-ba'ang cis bas "to complete by whatever means even the act of appointing (us) as servants of Heaven." Zhig is the indefinite enclitic particle, which commonly accompanies constructions containing forms of the word ci, e.g. ci-zhig "what ?; something, anything"; ci 'dra-zhig "similar to what ?; resembling whatever, of whatever description or nature it may be". Syntactically the existential verb mchis "there is, there exists" is the main or nuclear verb of the entire clause, with gnam-kol-du.....cis bas-zhig serving as its nominal complement or topic; thus, very literally: "there was the case or state of affairs where one accomplished by whatever means even the act of appointing (us) as servants of Heaven."

9. For a discussion of chu-srid, see Stein (1973:413-414).

10. Khab-so dpon-sna "officials of the khab-so (treasury or tax office)". For khab-so, see Text I N. 32, note. For dpon-sna "titre général désignant les fonctionnaires", see Lalou (1955:195).

Thugs-bag mdzad "to be so kind as to show concern for". Thugs-bag would appear to be an honorific form of bag "caution, care, attention". A number of variant spellings are given for it by Thomas (1955:141). It occurs commonly in early texts in the construction" (terminative +) thugs-bag mdzad-pa "to show concern for", which seems to be analogous to the polite WT formulas thugs mdzad-pa and thugs-rje mdzad-pa "to grant a favor, show favor, etc." Thugs-bag is glossed in Bod-Rgya as "the granting of what has been requested".

11. 'Phra-men (also spelled phra-men) was one of the precious materials of which the yi-ge "letters" or insignia of the Tibetan bureaucracy were made. Ordered lists of these insignia occur in both OT and Chinese sources and can be compared (cf. Text II N. 9, note, for references to studies in which these lists have been gathered). Unfortunately, the Tibetan lists vary in length. The Chinese lists, such as those in HTS and Ts'e-fu usually contain five items, the third of which corresponds to 'phra-men in the Tibetan lists of like length. The Chinese entries in question are

chin t'u yin 金塗銀 "silver (yin) upon which gold (chin) has been smeared or daubed (t'u)" or chin shih yin-shang 金飾銀土 "silver with gold applied to its surface as decoration". Tucci (1950:79, n. 45) has thus concluded, "it appears that p'ra men (both words meaning ornament, ornated) corresponds to silver-gilt, silver ornated with gold.....of the Chinese sources." Phra (~ 'phra) occurs in most of the dictionaries and clearly means "ornamented or inlaid (usually with jewels or precious stones); to inlay or emboss with jewels or stones". Men is given by Jäschke as "an ornament, a piece of finery". Wang (1982:104, n. 9) and Ch'ang (1984:244) take 'phra-men in the sense suggested by Tucci, but Richardson (1972:35, n. 74) objects saying "although the parallel appears conclusive, it leaves some doubt. 'phra-men can hardly be the Tibetan rendering of t'u, the Chinese term for silver-gilt. Tibetans today see it as another form of khra-men, which dictionaries interpret as 'a kind of jade.'" Now, it is important to recognize at the outset that the Chinese expressions here in question are not technical terms but descriptive phrases, as the translations given above are intended to suggest. It would seem that the Chinese, upon observing the Tibetan insignia, chose to describe them rather than to translate their names with standard Chinese lapidary terms. The phrases are intended to tell us what 'phra-men looked like and how it was made. Given the known meaning of phra ~ 'phra and the Chinese testimony on the appearance of 'phra-men, it seems very probable that metal gilt or inlay work of

some type was involved. It is of course quite possible that stones of some sort were included in the work. The word khra-men (variant: khra-man) occurs in modern dictionaries, but we do not know how old it is. Khra and phra could not have alternated in OT as they do today, but it is possible that the earlier word phra-men might have survived as modern Central Tibetan ṭhāmẽ̃ẽ̃ and then been respelled khra-men by scribes who had forgotten its etymological origin. This is something we cannot know until the earliest text occurrences of khra-men have been traced.

15. The syllable [rje'i] is emended on the basis of the frequent occurrence of the name Mang-po-rje in the inscription. The phrase [chad na] is added by comparison with the similar expression rgyud kyang rabs chad-na in line 16.

Kar-po Rgyal-brtsan is not otherwise known.

16-17. Spu dang sbyard-te. This phrase is clear in the published photos of Dr. Uebach, and the element spu dang is legible in the copies sent to us by Professor Ch'ang. Other readings must therefore be rejected at the outset. The entire phrase seems to mean "according to spu". The word Spu as an archaic name for Tibet is presumably to be excluded here. Thomas (1955:153) glosses spu as "brother in a family" but does not discuss this interpretation. Perhaps he takes it as a form of spun. In WT spu commonly means "hair", and Ch'ang (1984:244) ingeniously translates our line i ju hao-mao-chih fu (p'i) 亦如毫毛之附(皮)

"just like the way fine hairs adhere to (the skin)". The existence of such idiomatic expressions is always a possibility, but it would seem that in the present case we have no means of verification. Context suggests that spu was a positive trait or quality of some sort, possession of which qualified one to be ruler of Rkong. In Mvy. we twice find the phrase spu-la 'bab-pa, corresponding to Skt. bhavya "able, capable" and yogya "skillful, clever, suitable". It seems clear that the Tibetan phrase is not a direct translation or calque of the Skt. originals but rather an idiomatic Tibetan phrase used to translate them. Its literal meaning is presumably "to arrive at spu". We can now propose a hypothetical meaning for spu, i.e. "positive quality, suitability". This immediately invites comparison with the well-known WT word spus "quality, worth, characteristic; positive trait or quality", which may be cognate to spu. Curiously, Das (p. 800) lists a compound spu-med whose meaning "ill-looking, of inferior quality" is identical to that of the much better known spus-med. But Das' entry may in fact be merely a spelling error for spus-med. A well-known WT expression is spus-bzang "of fine quality; beautiful". A suspiciously similar OT expression, spu-bzangs, appears in Thomas (1957:128, line 139), though he takes spu as "hair" there. The passage needs further study. In any case, it seems possible that our spu formed a word family with spus and had a similar or related meaning.

18. Dpya'-khral. The rhythm of this passage suggests that this expression is a compound. The coordinate compound dpya-khral is well-known in WT and is a general term meaning "taxation, compulsory levy, etc."

19. Stsang-dphya' "grain (?) tribute". The word stsang is not found in the dictionaires. Thomas (1951:19) has speculated on the basis of the contexts in which it is found in his texts that it means "grain". The fact that it was used as payment of taxes and levies is indicated by the presence of the compounds khral-stsang and dphya-stsang in the texts. A possible variant or closely cognate form of stsang in Thomas' texts is gstsang (1951:350, no. 30). Etymologically the word seems to belong to a large family of cognates meaning "put in storage, conceal, etc.", e.g. 'dzangs-pa "to hoard wealth", 'tshang-ba "to press into, stuff inside", tshang "nest, den, lair, hide-away", mtshang "the evil hidden in a person's heart", gsang-ba (< *gstsang) "secret, concealed; to conceal". The basic sense of stsang is thus probably "stores, things kept in storage". This may then have become specialized in reference to foodstuffs or dietary staples.

'Bras is translated by Wang (1982:101), Ch'ang (1984: 244) and Richardson (1972:35; 1985:71) as "rice", which is its WT and modern sense. Richardson had earlier (1954:160) rendered it as "produce", which he later explained as due to the fact that "rice is not grown in rKong-po chabs-dkar nowadays" (1972:35, n. 80). Uebach (1985:71-72, n. 123) has

adhered to Richardson's earlier opinion and then takes 'bras as "fruit". Now Wang (1982:104, n. 10) has noted that the climate of Rkong-po is suitable for rice cultivation, and Stein (1972:25) has specifically stated that rice is grown together with barley there in the second yearly cropping. One cannot, therefore, rule out rice as the meaning of 'bras here on the basis of modern cultivation practices or patterns. Whether or not rice was actually grown in Rkong during the royal period is a question which must perhaps be solved by paleobotanists. But that rice was known in Tibet then seems beyond question. Wang (loc. cit.) points out that the Chinese envoy Liu Yüan-ting (cf. Text I S. 40-41, note) reported extensive cultivation of the late-ripening non-glutinous rice keng-tao 秔稻 (Oryza sativa, subsp. keng) around Lan-chou in 822, when this area had already been under Tibetan rule for some time.

Da-ltar-gyi las is an elliptical construction equalling da-ltar-gyi 'bul-ba'i sa-tshigs-las. Ellipsis of this type is well-attested in WT; see Hahn (1981:186).

CHAPTER 7

TEXT V: THE INSCRIPTION AT THE 'PHYONG-RGYAS BRIDGE

Date of the Inscription: ca. 797, end of the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan

Location: 'Phyong-rgyas

Present Condition: effaced

Previous Studies: Richardson (1964; 1985:36-41)

Published Photographs: none

Published Rubbings: none

This text was inscribed on the north face of a pillar which stands by a bridge at the village of 'Phyong-rgyas, near the royal necropolis in the Yarlung valley. According to Richardson (1985:36) it is located "below the rdzong at 'Phyong-rgyas beside the track leading to the tombs of the kings (bang-so) about half a mile distant." For sketch maps of the area, see Richardson (1963) and Wen-wu 1985.9:16. The inscribed face was examined by Tucci (1950:42), who pronounced it unreadable. At about the same time Richardson also visited the site and transcribed a few fragments of the text which could still be distinguished. Later he found a full transcription of the text in the manuscript collection of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu (1698-1755), dating from perhaps as early as the fifteenth century. Combining this with

his own notes he was able to produce a restored version of the text, consisting of thirty-four lines (1964). The text gives an account of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan's reign and accomplishments and is noteworthy for the way in which it combines traditional and Buddhist terminology (cf. Richardson 1964:10-13).

Our version of the text is that of Richardson (1985), with notes referring to variant readings in Richardson (1964). In a number of cases Richardson has archaized or otherwise modified the spellings of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's version, and these cases are also indicated in our notes.

Text of the Inscription

1. // lha btsan po yab myes[1] lha dang myi'i
2. rjer gshegs te / chos gtsug lag ni
3. lugs kyis bzang // dbu rmog brtsan po ni
4. byin du che'o //
5. // lha btsan po khri srong lde brtsan gyi zha
6. snga nas kyang / yab myes kyi lugs bzhin /
7. lha'i gtsug lag ni ma nyams / gnam
8. sa'i chos dang ni 'thun par mdzad / sku
9. yon tan yongs kyis brjod pa'i[2] yi ge /
10. nam zhig rdo rings la bris so //
11. chos rgyal chen pos phrin las su ci
12. mdzad pa dang // dbu rmog brtsan po'i[3] byin[4]
13. gyis / chab srid skyes pa las[5] stsogs pa'i
14. gtam gyi yi[6] ge / zhib mo gcig[7] ni /[8] gud
15. na yod do //
16. // 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri srong lde
17. brtsan gyi zha[9] snga nas / mtha' bzhi'i rgyal po[10]
18. gzhan dang myi[11] 'dra ste / byin gyi sgam dkyel
19. chen po dang / dbu rmog brtsan pos / yar ni
20. ta zhig gyi mtshams man chad / mar ni long
21. shan gyi la rgyud yan cad / chab 'og 'du
22. ste / chab srid ni lho byang shar nub /
23. mthas klas[12] par che'o // de ltar chab srid
24. che ba'i byin gyis / bod yongs[13] yul che / khong
25. phyug du[14] gyurd pas / nang nas kyang / nam
26. zhar bde zhing skyid par gnas so //

Text V

27. thugs la byang chub spyod pa rlabs po
28. che mnga' bas / 'jig rten las 'das pa'i
29. chos bzang po brnyes nas / kun la bka'
30. drin du byin no[15] // de ltar 'greng dud
31. gnyis[16] la / 'phral yun gnyis[17] kyi bka' drin
32. chen pos ma khyab pa myed[18] de // myi yongs
33. kyis mtshan yang / 'phrul gyi lha byang chub
34. chen por gsol to //

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R	Richardson (1964)
RT	Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu (ap. Richardson 1964)

1) RT: mes
2) R: pa'i
3) RT: po
4) R: byin
5) RT: la
6) R: yi
7) R: gcig
8) R has no "/"
9) RT: zhal
10) R places po at the head of line 18.
11) RT: mi
12) R: klus
13) R: yong
14) R: du
15) RT: byino
16) R: gnyis
17) R: gnyis
18) RT: med

Text V

Translation

1-4 When the gods, btsan-pos, the ancestors came as rulers of gods and men, their statecraft grounded in the (eternal) laws was through their customs good, and their mighty (helmet;) authority was in its splendor great.

5-10 The god, btsan-po, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, in accordance with the customs of the ancestors, did not injure the belief system of the gods but acted in harmony with the laws of heaven and earth. The text in which his achievements are praised by all has been inscribed for all time on the long stone.

11-15 A detailed text exists elsewhere of the account of what the great religious king did as deeds and how the state grew through the splendor of his mighty authority, etc.

16-23 The God of Supernatural Qualities, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, being unlike the other kings of the four borders, through the great profundity of his splendor and by his mighty authority, upwards as far as the frontier of the Ta-zhig and downwards all the way to the chain of passes of Long-shan, they came together under his sway; and south, north, east, and west his government was great beyond limit.

23-26 In that way, through the splendor of the state's greatness, all Tibet grew to be great in territory and wealthy within. And because of this, even (from within:) internally it always dwelt in happiness and felicity.

27-30 Because he possessed in his mind deeds of wisdom in great measure, he found the good, superworldly Law; and having done so he bestowed it as grace upon all.

30-34 In this way, of both men and animals there were none which were not embraced by his great kindness, both at the current time and in the time to come; and all men called him by the name Supernatural God of Great Wisdom.

Text V

Notes to the Translation

2. Chos-gtsug-lag "statecraft grounded in the (eternal) laws". This passage has been discussed by Macdonald (1970:348) who translates "la loi Gcug-lag". On gtsug-lag see Text I E. 8, note. Of the congeries of concepts and beliefs covered by this difficult word it is perhaps the "art of the ruler" which is primary in this line. Chos seems to have referred to the eternal laws or verities of the universe and is used to translate Chinese tao 道 "the Way" in the Shang-shu paraphrase (Huang 1981:211, line 32): gnam-gyi [cho]s gsal-bar shes-pa yin-bas "because you know that the chos of Heaven is clear...", which corresponds in the Chinese version to tien yu hsien tao, chüeh lei wei chang 天有顯道,厥類惟彰 "Heaven has a clear way (tao), its categories are manifest." The use of chos for Chinese tao in early Buddhist translations has been reviewed by Stein (1983:167-169). How to render chos in the expression chos-gtsug-lag remains a problem. Richardson (1985:39) translates "religious"; and since eternal verities and belief therein can be said to constitute "religion", this would seem to be a possible rendering.

7-8. Gnam-sa'i chos "the laws of heaven and earth". Here the meaning of chos is probably very similar to that of

Chinese tao as used in the Shang-shu passage quoted in the preceding note.

11. Chos-rgyal "religious king". As noted by Richardson (1985:37) this seems to be the earliest attestation of the standard Tibetan equivalent for Skt. dharmarājā (Chinese fa-wang 法王). Thus, chos here has its specifically Buddhist sense "Law, dharma".

20. Ta-zhig in this period referred to the Arab-Persian Caliphate, which abutted the Tibetan empire west of the Pamirs.

20-21. Long-shan is a transcription of Chinese Lung-shan (ljwong: sǎn). This is the name of a massif which begins in the area of Pao-chi 寶雞 and Lung-hsien 隴縣 in Shensi Province and extends northwestward into Kan-su and then along the border between Kan-su and Ning-hsia. It is actually the southern spur of a larger range which is called Liu-p'an-shan 六盤山 on modern maps. The Lung-shan range was the major natural barrier between the famous Kuan-chung 關中 "Within the Passes" area, where the T'ang capital was located, and the territories further west where the Tibetans held sway.

27-28. Rlabs-po che, literally "a great wave", figuratively "of great strength or breadth", glosses Skt. udāra in Mvy. (2688); cf. Stein (1983:198).

Text V

28-29. 'Jig-rten-las 'das-pa'i chos bzang-po "the good superworldly Law". Chos bzang-po, according to Stein (1983: 180, n. 63), corresponds to Skt. saddharma in the "Chinese" terminology of the OT Buddhist translations. He predicts the Chinese equivalent shan-fa 善法, and cites a text example from a Tun-huang manuscript (cf. Demiéville 1952:73, n. 1 for another example). For 'jig-rten-las 'das-pa'i chos we find Skt. lokottara dharma (Pali lokuttara dhamma) and the corresponding Chinese ch'u shih-chien fa 出世間法 (cf. also ch'u shih-chien tao 出世間道, Skt. lokottara mārga). For our entire passage we have been unable to locate in the standard handbooks examples of the expected Skt. *lokottara saddharma or its equivalents in Chinese.

33-34. Byang-chub chen-po presumably corresponds to Skt. mahābodhi (Chinese ta-chüeh 大覺), but we do not find this equivalence explicitly stated in the handbooks.

CHAPTER 8

TEXT VI: THE INSCRIPTION AT THE TOMB OF KHRI-LDE-SRONG-BRTSAN

Date of the Inscription: 815 or soon thereafter

Location: 'Phyong-rgyas

Present Condition: extant but very badly weathered

Previous Studies: Richardson (1969b; 1985:84-91); Takasaki (1977); Tucci (1950:36-39, 91-93); Wang (1982:135-149)

Published Photographs: Richardson (1969b: plate Ib): lines 1-7; (plate II): 13-25 (26, 27); (Cf. also Richardson 1963, plate 4, which is the same as or very similar to plate Ib above); Tucci (1950: fig. 1, opposite p. 36): lines 1-? (mostly illegible)

Published Rubbings: none

This text is inscribed on the north side of a pillar which stands east of the tumulus of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan in the royal necropolis at 'Phyong-rgyas. The entire pillar is 7.18 meters tall. Its inscribed surface is 5.6 meters high and is 78 centimeters broad at the top and 94 centimeters broad at the base. Due to a very heavy accumulation of alluvium from a nearby mountain, only 2.95 meters of the pillar stand above the present soil surface. The entire pillar

rests on the back of a stone tortoise. The inscription consists of fifty-nine lines, many of which are very badly damaged.

Quotes and adaptions from a text identical with or very similar to this inscription appear in the Rgyal-po bka'-thang and have been discussed by Tucci (1950:39-40) and quoted extensively by Richardson (1969b). The first Western visitor to see the inscription was Tucci, who examined the site in 1948 and made notes and photographs. About twenty-two lines of text were visible above the soil surface at that time. In 1949 the site was visited by Richardson, who succeeded in excavating twenty-five more lines by sinking a narrow trench around the pillar. Richardson's photos and notes were subsequently made available to Tucci who then published his reading and translation of the text (1950). In 1969 Richardson published a new reading for the first thirty lines by comparing the earlier version with the newly discovered transcription of lines 1-30, recovered from the collection of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu. He also included a reconstruction of lines 39-47. In 1977 Takasaki (apparently unaware of Richardson's 1969 article) made his own collation of the versions of Tucci and Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu and translated lines 1-30. Wang's 1982 study reproduces Tucci's text, with a number of variant readings, and then adds Richardson's 1969 version as an appendix. Richardson (1985) reproduces the entire inscription (minus Tucci's line 33). The first thirty lines of this version reflect the 1969 restored reading. In September, 1984, the

pillar was archeologically excavated under the auspices of the Committee for Preservation of Ancient Monuments, Tibetan Autonomous Region. The findings of this excavation were published in Bsod-nams and Chang (1985). The report includes a transcription and translation of the final, hitherto unknown, twelve lines of text. These lines, like the preceding ones, are rather badly damaged.

The text, which is a funerary inscription, is an account of the reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan and tells of his various achievements both at home and abroad. Tucci (1950: 41) has commented upon the fact that there is little if any Buddhist influence evident in the surviving portions of the first forty-seven lines of the inscription. But the 1984 excavation has revealed that the final twelve lines contain clearly Buddhist expressions and terminology.

Because of the badly corroded state of the pillar, published photographs of the inscription are very difficult to use; and our readings therefore rely mainly on published transcriptions of the text. For lines 1-30 we compare the versions of Tucci (1950) and Wang (1982). For lines 31-47 we compare Tucci, Wang, and Richardson (1985). Richardson leaves out line 33 of the version of Tucci and Wang and therefore has only forty-six lines for the text as a whole. Bsod-nams and Chang (1985) agree with Tucci and Wang's count, and we consequently follow this enumeration of lines. For the last twelve lines of the inscription we follow Bsod-nams and Chang, giving a total of fifty-nine lines. These concluding twelve lines are secondarily numbered (1)-(12)

to facilitate comparison with Bsod-nams and Chang's transcription. The emendations in these lines are our own. Where necessary they are explained in the translation notes. Richardson's new version of lines 1-30 (1969b; 1985), arrived at by comparison with the Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu copy, and his reconstruction of lines 39-47 (1969b), are given and translated in the appendix at the end of the chapter. It is important to compare these with the surviving fragments on the pillar when reading the inscription. Takasaki's version of lines 1-30 is not given here.

Text of the Inscription

1. // btsan po lha sras / 'o lde spu rgyal // gnam gyi
2. lha las myi'i rjer gshegs pa // chos lugs bzang
3. po ni gzhar gtsug myi 'gyur // mnga' thang chen po ni nam zhar
4. kyang byin myi nyam ste // chab srid ni phyir zhing che[1] / dbu rmog
5. ni yun du brtsan pa'i // g-yung drung gi gtsug lag chen po
6. bzhin du // lha sras khri lde srong brtsan myi'i rje
7. mdzad pa // lha'i lugs dang 'thun par ni[2] mnga' thang ni chen /po/
8. gnam gyi chos dang mtshungs par ni / bka' brtsan te
9. thugs sgam po'i[3] rlabs dang // bka' lung bzang po'i
10. lugs kyis // phyi nang gnyis su legs dang chab srid che
11. ba'i tshul / nam du yang / myi yongs kyis shes par // mdo
12. tsam zhig rdo rings la bris pa'o //
13. // btsan po lha sras / khri lde srong brtsan / lha 'phrul gyi
14. zha snga nas // thugs sgam // kho/ng/ ya/ngs/ pa dang / brtan /zu/ng thub
15. thugs stobs che'o / - - - -nyi - de lta bsam / '- - - gi
16. rje mdzad na yang // myi - - s pa'i las rgya mu bskrungs pas
17. nang du 'khrug pa dang / myi - - ba myed cing // bod[4] ljongs kyis
18. myi - - - l byung ste / 'bangs gyod do // nam zhar dbon
19. sras rgyud chab srid[5] btsan dang / 'bangs skyid par bya'o
20. - ms[6] - gtang // myi'i - - - - - - - y - n - yi - - - - -
21. - n mye - p - i[7] - - - - - - - /na/ng du bzhag - - - n gyi - g[8] -
22. yang rgya cher dgongs - - - lha 'phrul gyi zha snga nas m - -
23. phyogs brgyad du /bka' brtsa/n chab srid che ste - phyo/gs bzhir/
24. rgyal po chen por m - - - b - - // bar du bka' khon byung nas
25. dgra ru sdor - l - - - ng j(?) - - - - - - - du bzhes ma thag tu d -

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26. dmag gis rgyar - u[9] - - - - - - - - s ru drangs nas s - -
27. da tshun cad - - - rgyas - i - - - - - - - r mdzad thog - -
28. /g/tsug lag /kha/ng - - - - - - - - s - o - ste // rtag du - -
29. - d - - - - - - - - - - - - - /che/n por cha gar 'dug
30. - - - - - - do dang l - - u - - yis[10] - ng chad dam -[11]
31. - r[12] - n - dan - - - - - - - - - - - - - y[13] - - /chab/ srid - -
32. - - mar - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - kha kyong du[14]
33. - - r - - su - - rdo - - - - - dang - - - - bcas pa[15]
34. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - y - - po - - bod gnyis
35. j - - - r - - - - - - - - - n - - - - yo - i[16] zhan[17] - - du[18]
36. yang d - myi - - - - d pa[19]
37. - d[20] - - - nyi 'og tu chab
38. - c - t zhi sbyor zhing[21]
39. - - - - d - - - p - - - - /byang/ phyogs na dru gu - - s[22]
40. - - - ho/r se/r - - - - /bar/ du bka khong byung nas chab srid[23]
41. - s - - - - - u - gu ru gya'i - - dang - so ru - n chud cad du / bod[24]
42. - d - - - cher - - - - - - - - // man ngas bcad - n - - rgya[25]
43. nga yul kyi[26] - n - - - srung kong - - - - d tshun cad lho hor khag[27]
44. gyis kyang chab srid la bsrong te / - - u - du gsol lo / 'di dag[28]
45. - - stsogs[29] pa rgyal po - - n - o - - ng - - - - - - - - /nyi/ 'og tu
46. - - - /cha/b srid kya/ng/ - - - de - - - - - - pa dam pa'i chos[30]
47. - -[31] rab tu rtsal - u - u - - /bya/ng[32]
48. (1) chub chen po/'i/ sa khyon - - du -o- - - - - - rab tu dam pa'i sgo nas bsod /
49. (2) nams kyang rgya cher skyong[33] -o- -u- - -y-g - - dam pa'i chos rgyas par /
50. (3) mdzad - pa'i bka' drin gyis kyang sa - - pa'i -o- lha 'phrul gyi zha /snga/ /

51. (4) /na/s / thugs sgam bka' brtsan chab - - bsod nams snga ldan gyi /

52. (5) gong du 'phags par sku - gzhan las /kyang/ lhag pa'i mdzes[34] sku rtsal /

53. (6) lo / re --r sku -o- - - chan - - - par myi yongs kyis shes shing /

54. (7) /m/tha bzhi'i rgyal po che phra kun kyang bka' 'og tu chud par -i- gyis khyab /

55. (8) - - - -u- bka'i che - - pa rgya khyab kyis - snga - bzhis las stsogs /

56. (9) /g-ya/ g-yo'i rgyal po che phra - /k/un byas / so so'i blon po gces pa mang po /

57. (10) - -s nas - du - - - - stsogs pa'i chig snga srim phul nas /sri/ zhu cher byas

58. (11) - - - lta bus myi yul gyi rje mdzad pa las / zhongs - - m gi - r gshegs

59. (12) - - - - ba shod kyi rje'i bang so rgyal chen 'phrul zhes mtshan pa 'di lags so /

Text VI

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R	Richardson (1985)
T	Tucci (1950)
W	Wang (1982)

1) T, W: chab srid ni da phyir zheng che. This line is visible in plate Ib of Richardson (1969b). From this it is clear that sr̈id and zḧing are the correct readings and that there is probably no room for Tucci's da in the passage. The reading of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu is clearly better here.

2) W: na

3) T writes po', which may be a printing error in his text.

4) T: pod

5) W: srid

6) W: s

7) W: pa'ï for p-'ï

8) W: ø

9) W: ø

10) W: yï

11) R: pa yang // .....kyïs.....mdzad

12) W: n

13) W: ø

14) W: kyong x x x x du; R for the whole line: ..... byung

15) R leaves this line out.

16) W: ø

17) W: zhin

18) R: .....rje.....dang.....zhiṅ.....du

19) R: da

20) R: .....-ong my-

21) R: .....tsa.....man cad...zhi...sbyor zhing

22) R: .....phyogs...dru gu 'dug

23) W: srid; R: .....bar du bka' khon byung nas chab srid

24) R: .....bsdo ba las.....rgya...'i....dang go man tshun cad du // bod

25) R: .....dam....po che...../// mnangs bcad.....rgya

26) W: gyi

27) R: .....dang / yul gyi mu che.....-o- dong.... tshun cad stod hor kha ga

28) R: gyis kyang chab srid la.....bsdo ste // mjal dum du gsol lo // 'di dag

29) W, R: las stsogs

30) R: da...pa'i chos

31) R: kyid

32) End of the versions of Tucci, Wang and Richardson. [bya]ng is restored on the basis of chub at the head of the next line.

33) Transcribed as skyong, transliterated as skyand.

34) Transcribed as mdzes, transliterated as mdzas.

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Translation

1-5 When the btsan-po, Son of the Gods, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal came down from the gods in heaven as ruler of men, as to his good customs grounded in the (eternal) laws, never did the principles of his statecraft change; and as to his great power, never was its splendor damaged; his government became greater and greater and his (helmet:) authority was for a long time mighty.

5-12 In accordance with the eternal great principles (through which all the above transpired), the Son of the Gods, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, acted as ruler of men. In agreement with the ways of the gods his power was great, and like unto the law of heaven his commands were mighty; through the (wave:) influence of his profound mind and the methods of his good commands all was well both within and without, and the government was great. In order that the way (this was so) shall be known by all men, a summary has been briefly inscribed on the pillar.

13-15 Through (the actions of) the btsan-po, Son of the Gods, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, the God of Supernatural Qualities, his mind was profound, his heart was broad and firm, his (grasp:) power was able, and the strength of his mind was great.

15-18 ....like that he mused, ...also when he served as ruler of ....because he devised the extent and limits of work which was not ...., within there was no quarreling and un-....; and, as the regions of Tibet.....emerged, the subjects.....

18-19 He made eternally firm the government of the lineage of his grandsons and made happy the people.

20 .....would send forth.....of men.....

21 .....established.....

22 and also to a great degree he thought.....through the action of the God of Supernatural Qualities.....

23 in the eight quarters his command was firm and his government was great....in the [four] quarters

24 as great king....resentment having arisen between them

25 to behave with contempt as enemies.....as soon as he took.... into....

26 the army to China.....having pushed to.....

27 from this time forward.....during acting as.....

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28 a temple.....always

29 .....was on the border

30-38 .....

39 .....in the northern quarter the Dru-gu.....

40 .....mutual resentment having arisen, his government.....

41-47 .....

47-48 ..... the territory of the great wisdom.....

48-49 ....by very holy (?) means he preserved merit to a great extent....

49-50 ....by his grace, which cause the holy Law to spread.....

50-51 .....through the actions of the God of Supernatural Qualities, his mind was profound, his command was mighty, his dominion was....

51-53 ...his handsome physique, which was more excellent.... than others.....(whose?) merit was formerly exalted

53-54 .....was known by all men; and the kings of the four borders were embraced by.....so that they were all included under his command....

55-56 .....the great.....of his command.....everywhere.....and so forth; the kings of [right] and left, great and small, all did .....each of the many esteemed ministers

57 .....after having offered.....they greatly payed their respects

58 ....by such means he served as lord of the land of men, whereupon he went to.....

59 .....the royal tomb below the.....was styled Rgyal-chen-'phrul, and this is (that tomb).

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Notes to the Translation

2. Chos-lugs, lit. "law-custom", i.e. "customs grounded in and reflecting the eternal verities". For a discussion of the use of this compound in early texts, see Stein (1983:180-182).

3. Gtsug in passages such as this is now generally thought to be a variant or abbreviated form of gtsug-lag (Macdonald 1971:348-350; Stein 1983:180, n. 63). On the meaning of this difficult word see Text I E. 8-9, note. The use of gtsug here is similar to that of Text V. 2, and it is therefore possible that the reference is specifically to the principles or system of royal rule.

18. The meaning of gyod here is problematical. It is normally identifiable as a form of 'gyod-pa "to grieve, lament", which does not fit the context in this passage. Richardson's version reads skyid which makes better sense (cf. translation of this version in the appendix below). Perhaps gyod is a misreading for skyid in the Tucci/Wang version.

19. Btsan is clearly a variant of brtsan "mighty, strong" and is the only attestation of this spelling in the inscriptions. Richardson's version has brtan "firm". Our

btsan is almost certainly a misreading of the original by Tucci.

The use of the form bya'o is anomalous here. Compare Richardson's version where bya-ba'i gdams-ngag is grammatically regular.

48-49. Bsod-nams according to Stein (1983:188-189) corresponds to Skt. puṇya "merit" in the "Indian" vocabulary of the Buddhist translations.

49. Stein (1983:180, n. 63) points out that dam-pa'i chos is used in Mvy. to translate Skt. saddharma and is thus the normal equivalent for this word in the "Indian" terminology of the translations. The "Chinese" equivalent is chos bzang-po (see Text V. 28-29, note). The equivalent of dam-pa'i chos in Chinese texts is cheng-fa 正法 or miao-fa 妙法 . Dam-pa'i chos also occurs in line 46 above but is unclear there, leading Tucci (1950:41) to doubt whether Buddhist influence is really present in this inscription at all. The discovery of the final twelve lines can now put these doubts to rest.

52. The compound mdzes-sku is listed by Bod-Rgya and is glossed as "a handsome or comely physique".

52-53. Snga-ldan-gyi-gong is perhaps an expanded form of snga-gong "former, earlier".

55. Rgya-khyab "everywhere, all over" is attested in Bod-Rgya.

56. [g-ya]-g-yo'i rgyal-po "the kings of right and left". For Text I E. 15 Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's version has the phrase g-yas-g-yo'i rgyal-po (Richardson 1978: 140; 143, n. 3). Richardson, on the basis of his own rubbings read not g-yas but g-ya here. Uray (1960:40-42) had already predicted the existence of OT *g-ya and *g-yo as variants of OT and WT g-yas "right" and g-yon (OT also g-yos) "left". In our text we find - - g-yo, with slots for only two graphemic units before g-yo. We must therefore emend to [g-ya] rather than [g-yas] here. It is possible that OT g-ya "right" and g-yo "left" survive in specialized forms in WT as g-ya'-ba "nearby, near at hand" (an obsolete word, see Bod-Rgya, p. 2616), and g-yo "cunning, clever, deceitful" (cf. English sinister).

58. Bsod-nams and Chang (1985:75-76) consider zhongs to be a place name; and, taking gshegs "to go" as a euphemism for "to die", they suggest that the king died at Zhongs. The location or identification of this place is not discussed. Perhaps they think of Zhong, the name of a principality of the royal period (see Lalou 1965:204). Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (ja 127b, line 7) states that Khri-lde-srong-brtsan died at Sbrags-phu, but Bsod-nams and Chang would now correct this to Zhongs. This theory seems premature,

since the line is badly damaged and the grammatical connection between zhongs and gshegs is problematical.

59. The names of the royal tombs are mentioned in various historical sources and have been collected by Tucci (1950:12-13) and Haarh (1969:391-392). Haarh's list, which is more extensive than that of Tucci, gives the following variant forms for the name of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan's tomb: Rgyal-chen-'phrul-ri, Rgyal-chen-'phrul-gzher, Rgyal-chen bang-so, Rgya-chen bang-so.

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Appendix

Restored Text of Richardson (1969b and 1985)

1. // btsan po lha sras // 'o lde spu rgyal // gnam gyi
2. lha las / myi'i rjer gshegs pa // chos lugs bzang
3. po ni gzhar gtsug myi 'gyur // mnga' thang chen po ni nam
4. kyang byin myi nyamste // chab srid ni phyir zhing che // dbu rmog
5. ni yun tu brtsan pa'i // g-yung drung gi gtsug lag chen po
6. bzhin du // btsan po lha sras khri / lde srong brtsan / myi'i rje
7. mdzad pa // lha'i lugs dang mthun par ni mnga' thang che /
8. gnam gyi chos dang mtshungs par ni / bka' brtsan te /
9. thugs sgam po'i rlabs dang / bka' lung bzang po'i
10. lugs kyis // phyi nang gnyis su legs shing // chab srid che
11. ba'i tshul // nam du yang / myi yongs kyis shes par // mdo
12. tsam zhig rdo rings la bris pa'o //
13. // btsan po lha sras / khri lde srong brtsan / lha 'phrul gyi
14. zha snga nas // thugs sgam / khong yangs / bka' brtan / zung thub /
15. thugs stobs che'o // rang nyid de lta bas na / 'greng gi
16. rje mdzad na yang // myi dgos pa'i las kyi mu bskyungs pas
17. nang du 'khrug pa dang // myi bde ba myed cing // bod yongs kyis
18. khongs la yul phyug ste // 'bangs skyid do // nam zhar / dbon
19. sras rgyud kyi chab srid brtan zhing // 'bangs skyid par bya ba'i
20. gdams ngag dang // phyi'i dgra 'dul ba'i byin gyi dgra' thabs
21. sngon myed pa'i bzang po bka' lung du bzhag ste // yun gyi legs
22. pa yang rgya cher dgongs so // lha 'phrul gyi zha snga nas mtha'
23. bzhi phyogs brgyad du // bka' brtsan // chab srid che ste // shar phyogs
24. // rgyal po chen por rgya 'dug pa dang // bar du bka' khon byung nas

25. dgrar bsdo ba las // dang po chab srid phyag du bzhes ma thag du /
bod
26. kyi dmag gis // rgya'i yul thog phyogs su drangs pas spa ba'o //
27. de tshun cad kyis chab srid kyi mnga' bdag mdzad ma thog la
28. nar du lan 'ga' rgyas chab srid la ma bsdo ste // rtag tu mjal
29. dum gsol lo // lho phyogs kyi rgyal por rgya gar 'dug
30. pa yang //

.....

39. - - - (byang) phyogs (na) dru gu 'dug
40. - - - ho - - - - - - bar du bka khon byung nas chab srid
41. (la) bsdo ba las - - - (dru) gu (yul) gyi - - dang (so tu) - n
tshun cad du (bod)
42. (gy)i dmag - - (ya) - (po) - - - - - mnangs bcad - - pa'i rgya
43. (da)ng / yul gyi mu (cher) - - - (srung kong) - - - - tshun cad
stod hor kha g(an)
44. gyis kyang chab srid (la ma bsdo ste /) mjal dum du gsol lo / 'di
dag
45. las stsogs pa rgyal po - - - (lh)o (byang) s(har) n(ub) - - - -
'og (du)
46. - - - chab srid (kyi) - - - - (de) - - - - (pa dam) pa'i chos
47. kyid rab tu rtsal - (u) - (u) - - - - - - (ng) - - -

Text VI

Translation of Richardson's Restored Text

1-5 When the btsan-po, Son of the Gods, 'O-lde-spu-rgyal came down from the gods in heaven as ruler of men, as to his good customs grounded in the (eternal) laws, never did the principles of his statecraft change; and as to his great power, never was its splendor damaged; his government became greater and greater, and his authority was for a long time mighty.

5-12 In accordance with the eternal great principles (through which all the above had transpired), the btsan-po, Son of the Gods, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, acted as ruler of men. In agreement with the ways of the gods his power was great, and like unto the laws of heaven his commands were mighty; through the influence of his profound mind and the methods of his good commands all was well both within and without, and the government was great. In order that the way (this was so) shall be known by all men, a summary has been briefly inscribed on the pillar.

13-15 Through (the actions of) the btsan-po, Son of the Gods, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, the God of Supernatural Qualities, his mind was profound, his heart was broad, his command was firm, his power was able, and the strength of his mind was great.

15-18 In as much as he himself was like that, also when he served as ruler of mankind, because he diminished the (limits:) extent of unnecessary work, within there was no quarreling and unhappiness; and, as all Tibet was wealthy within the country, the people were happy.

18-22 In the form of a command he established both the precept for eternally making firm the government of the lineage of his grandsons and making happy the people, and also the magnificent warcraft, more excellent than before, for subduing the outside enemies; and also to a great degree he thought upon long-lasting well-being.

22-26 Through (the actions of) the God of Supernatural Qualities his command was mighty and his government was great on the four borders and in the eight quarters. As to the eastern quarter, China was in the position of great king there; and, resentment having arisen between them, they behaved with mutual contempt as enemies. Arising out of this, as soon as he at the outset took the government into his hands, the army of Tibet pushed into the uppermost quarters of Chinese territory and thereby was fearsome (to the Chinese).

27-28 From this time forward, (below, in the lower part:) in the latter period of his acting as head of government, continuously on a number of occasions China refrained

from behaving with insolence towards his rule, as a result of which a treaty was made for all time.

29-30 And India was in the position of great king of the southern quarter.....

39 ....in the northern quarter were the Dru-gu

40-42 .....mutual resentment having arisen they showed contempt for his rule, as a result of which..... of the country of the Dru-gu .....the army of (Tibet).....the control was cut off....

43-45 .....the borders of the country....from then on the khagan of the Upper Hor (having not shown contempt for) his rule, a treaty was made. These various kings .... (south, north, east, west).....

46 .....the government.....(the holy) Law

47 .....to a great extent.....accomplishment.....

Notes to the Translation of Richardson's Restored Text

27. Ma-thog-la is not otherwise known. Context suggests that it is a clause-final time expression, and Richardson (1985:89, 167) takes it as a variant or synonym of ma-thag-du "as soon as", which occurs in line 25. But it seems unlikely that, having just said in line 25 "as soon as (ma-thag-du) he took the government in his hands...", the writer would then immediately go on in line 27 to say, "from this time forward, as soon as (ma-thog-la) he acted as head of government..." Thog is attested in WT as a clause-final time word meaning "during". Ma-thog, on the other hand, means "below, down, downstairs, the lower part; down to, etc." Perhaps ma-thog-la means "in the lower part, in the after part, in the latter period of".

28. Nar-du is taken by Richardson (1985:89) as a terminative of na "stage of life, years of age", thus: "having come of age". But the expected terminative of na would be nar, e.g. phru-gu nar ma-son-pa "the child (has not yet reached his years:) is still immature." Nar-du here would be grammatically anomalous. More likely, in our opinion, is that nar-du is a simple or non-reduplicated form of the attested WT adverb nar-nar-du "continually" (< nar-pa "to continue, extend, stretch out, etc."), as for example in chu

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nar-nar-du rgyug-pa "the water flows continually" (Bod-Rgya, p. 1522).

CHAPTER 9

TEXT VII: THE INSCRIPTIONS AT ZHWA'I LHA-KHANG

Dates of the Inscriptions: West: 800-810; East: 812; Fragment: undatable

Location: Zhwa'i Lha-khang, eighty kilometers northeast of Lhasa

Present Condition: extant (East pillar badly damaged)

Previous Studies: Richardson (1952-3; 1985:43-63); Wang (1982:105-134)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: Richardson (1952-3: plate II): Fragmentary Inscription; (1985: plate 7): East, lines 1-19; (1985: plate 8): East, lines 9-29 (30)

These inscriptions are found at the Zhwa'i Lha-khang, a temple located approximately eighty kilometers northeast of Lhasa near the point where the Skyid-chu makes its southwestward turn, i.e. the 'Bri-gung rdzong-gsar area (cf. Wylie 1962:165, n. 472). Wang (1982:115) locates it in the 'Bri-gung (Chinese Chih-kung 止貢) district, Tsung-hsueh 宗雪 (= Rdzong-shod ?) Commune, Fifth Production Brigade. Photographs taken by Richardson (1952-3: plates I and II) in 1948-9 show the Zhwa'i Lha-khang as a fairly good-sized

complex of buildings. The two major inscriptions are on pillars which stood to the east and west of a gate facing southward into the shaded outer courtyard of the complex. The east pillar was about 2.9 meters in height while the west pillar was about 3.65 meters high. Wang (loc. cit.) states that in 1979 the temple had been destroyed. The west pillar still stood but had lost its finial. The east pillar had fallen down and was broken into three pieces (1982:127). Wang's Plate 13 shows the west pillar standing amidst ruins, with recent damage to the lower right-hand portion of the inscribed surface.

The west inscription, in sixty-two lines, is an edict of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan and probably dates from the early part of his reign. It is a grant of rank, titles, privileges, and exemptions to the clan of Myang Ting-nge-'dzin, who had been the king's guardian during the troubled years preceding his accession and who had then become his loyal advisor. Interestingly, because Ting-nge-'dzin was a monk and a celibate, the grants, given in perpetuity, had to be made to his lay kinsmen and their descendants rather than to him directly.

The east inscription consists of forty-nine lines and is expressly an expansion of the awards made in the west inscription, to which it refers as gtsigs snga-ma "the earlier edict". The new edict is specifically dated to 'brug-gi lo phyi-ma "the later Dragon year", i.e. 812 (lines 22-23). At the end of each inscription, on the lower right, is a square

socket. These sockets must once have held the royal seals, for both texts mention that such seals had been attached.

The fragmentary inscription consists of twelve partially legible lines on a stone about 800 meters east of the Zhwa'i Lha-khang. The text, which is only semi-intelligible, may deal with a clan origin myth. It seems to have no connection with the two pillar inscriptions.

The Zhwa'i Lha-khang inscriptions were first published by Richardson (1952-3). More recent studies are those of Wang (1982) and Richardson (1985). Our readings are based on the published photographs of Richardson and Wang where available, and otherwise on their published transcriptions.

Text VII

Text of the West Inscription

1. // gnam lhab kyi rgyal po / 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri
2. lde srong brtsan gyi / bkas / ban de myang
3. ting nge 'dzin / dbu snyung gtsigs g-yung drung du gnang ba /
4. ban de ting nge 'dzin lta zhig / gdod nas mthar snying nye ste // nga
5. sku chu ngu[1] nas /[2] chab srid ma bzhes pa'i bar du yab yum gyi go byaste
6. legs pa la zhen par byas / zhang drung po'i go byas te sku btsas /
7. yab sras gcen gcung yum sras / bla 'og dgyes shing 'thun bar
8. sbyard / spyir legs pa'i bka gros gsol cing / las su byas pa
9. las stsogs te / dpen pa byed byed snying nye nye'o // phyis yab dang
10. gcen thugs nongs brtud par byung ba'i rjes // nga chab srid
11. ma bzhes pa'i skabsu kha cig phan phun dang / gdon stson pa dag
12. yod pa yang / ban de ting nge 'dzin kyis[3] nyam drod zin nas / dpend
13. pa'i bka gros gsold / khrag khrug myed par byas / legs pa bya'o chog
14. gi gzhi bzung nas / nga'i chab srid las stsogste / spyir[4] legs pa'i
15. las chen po byas te / nga'i zha sngar / chab srid 'don 'dond[5] / snying
16. nye nye / bla 'og kun gyi[6] gzungs byas te / phyogs su 'khrug pa myed cing
17. bde bar byed byed do / /[7] chab srid kyi blon po chen poe[8] las byas kyis
18. kyang / 'phral yun gnyis su spyir legs shing dpen pa 'ba' shig[9]
19. byed byed do / /[10] 'di ltar snga phyi gnyis su gang bas kyang lhag par snying
20. nye zhing / zho sha chen po 'bul 'bul ba / /[11] sngon gyi zla dpe dang sbyar zhing / bka'

21. drin 'os par sbyin bar dgongs pa las / /[12] ban de nyid rjes 'bangs kyi
22. lugs dang / dge slong gi tshul 'dzin cing / bka drin myi nod par gsol gyis
23. kyang / zho sha'i lan / bka[13] drin sbyin pa'i[14] chos yin bas[15] // nga'i / bkas /
24. ban de ting nge 'dzin / gtsigs brtsan ba byin te // srid g-yung drung
25. du gnang ba / yun tu[16] brtan zhing bde bar bya ba dang / kun kyis shes par bya
26. ba'i byir // dkon mchog gi rten / gtsug lag khang 'dir / gtsigs
27. kyi mkhar bu brtsigs / rdo rings btsugs nas // gtsigs[17] kyi mdo /
28. rdo la mngon bar[18] bris te mtha' phyag rgyas btab nas bzhag pa yin[19] gyis
29. sras dbon phyi ma mnga' mdzad pa rnams dang / chab srid kyi blon po phyi ma dbang
30. byed pa[20] las stsogs pas kyang / nam nam zha zhar gtsigs kyi yi ge las 'byung
31. ba dang / rdo rings la bris pa las myi dbri myi bcos myi bsgyur bar gyis[21] shig //
32. nam nam zha zhar / btsan po gdung rabs rgyud kyis / /[22] ban de ting nge 'dzind kyi
33. myes po blon snang bzang 'dus kong gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud // spyan[23] ras kyis
34. btsa' zhing 'os pa zham 'bring du gzhag pa dang / ji tsam du nus par bkur
35. bstod pa dang / gzhan gyis mnar tam / stams las chad na / bka non bla nas mdzad

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36. pa dang / nyes yang[24] dag pa ma yin na / 'phra ma myi gstsan[25] / stams las myi gcad

37. pa dang / snang bzang 'dus kong gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud / la la zhig gis sku dang chab

38. srid la snying rings sam / nyes pa gzhan zhig byas na yang / gang gis nyes pa la rma /[25b]

39. phu nu bu tsha ma nyes gzhan la khrin myi rma / gyod la myi gdags/ bka nard myi

40. mdzad / ci[26] nyes kyang gyod na gcig gis / bskyung[27] ba dang[28] / yi ge g-yung drung

41. mying myi rlag par byin pa[29] dang[30] / las sna chen po bde ba yun tu chang kyur[31] byin ba

42. dang[32] / sde'i dpon po rgyud du gnang ba dang / snang bzang 'dus kong gi bu tsha 'phel

43. rgyud kyi bran zhing / 'brog sog tshal las stsogs pa / nam zhar rabs chad dam / bka

44. gyod la thogs na yang / phyag tu myi bzhes / gzhan myi sbyin / mas ma phul phan

45. cad / ci'i thabs kyis kyang myi dprog myi bzhes par gnang ba las stsogste

46. nam nam zha zhar blon snang bzang 'dus kong gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud / srid bde zhing brtan

47. ba'i gtsigs gnang ba 'di /[33] nam nam zha zhar gnang zhing myi bsgyur myi bcos par

48. nga'i zha snga[34] nas kyang dbu snyung gnang // gcen mu rug brtsan[35] dang / jo mo mched dang

49. rgyal phran rnams dang / chab srid kyi blon po man cad / zhang lon che phra kun kyang

50. mnas bsgagste[36] / gtsi̇gs g-yung drung du gnang ngo /[37] ban de ting nge 'dzi̇n

51. snying nye·zhing zho sha ji̇[38] ltar phul ba[39] dang / dpen pa ci byas pa dang / gtsi̇gs ci gnang ba /

52. zhib mo ni / gtsi̇gs kyi̇ yi ge la bris te / phyag sbal du bzhag / dpe gcig

53. phyag rgyas btab ste / gtsi̇gs kyi mkhar bu 'di̇r bzhag / dpe gcig ni /[40]

54. phyag rgyas btab ste / 'og dper 'chang du bcug go /[41] // ban de ting nge

55. 'dzi̇nd[42] kyi myes khu po / dbyi̇ gong gi rgyud kyang / dbu snyung gtsi̇gs gnang ngo //

56. sngon myang dba's snyi̇ng nye zhing zho sha phul bar[43] 'dra ba las / /[44] dba's kyi̇ zla dang sbyar na /

57. myang bka' dri̇n chungs pa[45] 'dra nas / /[46] nga'i̇ / bkas / /myang gi̇ gtsigs kyang zur

58. phyung brnan bskyed de gnang ngo // // gtsi̇gs kyi mkhar bu 'di̇ / nam zhig

59. dbye dgos na yang // sras dbon chab sri̇d kyi mnga' gang mdzad pas ri̇ng lugs

60. thugs ches pa gtsi̇gs bdag 'drang ba gsum yan cad

61. bsko ste / lag sbrel la dbyung zhi̇ng / phyir yang 'di̇ bzhin phyag rgya

62. **dang / ring lugs kyi̇ rgyas btab ste / gzhag par gnang ngo //**

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Notes to the West Text

Abbreviations:

R 1	Richardson (1952-3)
R 2	Richardson (1985)
W	Wang (1982)

1) R 2: chung ngu

2) R 2: ø

3) W: gyis

4) W: spyir

5) W: 'don

6) R 1, W: kyi

7) W: ø

8) R 1 suggests that this spelling is a graphic error for poi, which would then be an abbreviation of po'i. In fact, it may have been a conventional variant or abbreviation of -o'i; cf. II N. 21 and 61, Richardson (1985) version. Note also Uray (1960:32, n. 7).

9) W: zhig

10) W: ø

11) R 2: ø

12) R 2: ø

13) R 1: -ka

14) R 1: ba'i

15) W: pas

16) W: du

17) W: btsigs

18) W: par

19) R 2: yin

20) R 2: ø

21) W: gyis

22) W: ø

23) W: spun

24) W: snga

25) W: bstsan

25b) R 1, W: ø

26) R 2: ci

27) R 1: bsgyung; W: bsgyur

28) Note deleted.

29) R 1: ba

30) R 1: -ng

31) W: gyur

32) W: du

33) R 1: //

34) After snga W has "/".

35) W, R 2: btsan

36) R 2: bsgag ste

37) R 1: //

38) W: ji

39) W: pa

40) W: ø

41) R 2: //

42) R 1: 'dzind

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43) W: par

44) W: ø

45) R 2: ba

46) R 2: ø

Text of the East Inscription

1. // myi'i rgyal po lhas mdzad pa // 'phrul gyi lha
2. btsan po khri / lde srong brtsan gyi / bkas ///
3. ban de myang[1] ting nge 'dzin / dbu snyung gtsigs slad kyis
4. gnang ba /[2] / ban de ting nge 'dzin / nga'i chab srid 'don
5. cing / zho sha chen po 'bul 'bul ba / gtsigs snga ma
6. gnang ba'i tshe'ang zla dpe dang / /[3] zho sha'i rkyen bzhin
7. bka' drin 'os pa tsam du gnang ba las / ban de nyid
8. kyis / bka' drin myi nod par gsol nas // gtsigs
9. ran par dpags pa las kyang phri zhing smad[4] pa zho
10. sha'i rkyen tu[5] ma bab ste / bka drin chungs shing pham bar
11. gyurd / ban de ting nge 'dzin kyis / nga'i zha sngar chab srid
12. gsol nas / nga'i sku ring la / sku dang[6] chab srid la 'phral
13. yun gnyis su legs pa'i bka' gros gsold cing
14. spyir dpen pa'i las chen po byas pa dang / bla 'og phyogs
15. su bde ba dang / phan ba'i mdo chen po byed byed // snying
16. nye nye ste / zho sha cher phul ba / bka' drin gtsigs
17. bskyed par / nga'i thugs la dgongs na / ban de ni gtsigs
18. sngar gnang bas 'tshal[7] te myi bskyed par gsol gyis
19. kyang zho sha chen po'i lan / bka' drin myi 'pham bar sbyin pa'i
20. rigs par / rje blon mol nas / gtsigs sngar gnang ba
21. yang de bzhin gnang ba'i steng du / ban de ting nge 'dzin snying
22. nye zhing zho sha chen po phul ba'i phyir[8] / bka' drin 'brug gi lo
23. phyi ma la / pho brang 'on cang do na bzhugs pa'i tshe / gtsigs
24. gsar du bskyed de / nga'i bkas gnang ba / /[9] yi ge g-yung drung
25. sngar gnang ba bas bstod de cher gnang / /[10] blon snang bzang
26. 'dus kong gi bu tsha 'phel rgyud dmangs kyi rnams kyang gtsang
27. [da]ng stong[11] las stsogs pa sgor bde ba'i rnams / zhang lon yi ge

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28. can gyi thang du gnang ba dang / ma nyes par srog srid la dku
29. dang gnod pa byed zhig yod na / su la bab /kyang r/ung / dku'
30. ba dang / phe'u pa'i ngo khar myi dor ba / dku ba du gtogs pa //
31. bka gyod la gdags par gnang ba dang / lha /r/i/s s/u /b/sngos pa
32. /la/s[12] cir gyur kyang / bla 'og gzhan gyis dbang myi bya bar gnang
33. /ba/ las stsogs te / gtsigs snga ma'i steng du / gtsigs phyi ma
34. /b/snan bskyed de gnang ba rnams kyang / de bzhin du / nam zhar
35. /b/rtsan bar gnang ste / nga'i zha snga nas kyang dbu snyung gnang / / jo mo
36. /m/ched dang / rgyal phran dang / chab srid kyi blon po rnams dang / zhang
37. lon phra mo[13] thams cad kyang brnan te / mnas bsgags nas /
38. gtsigs bsnan bskyed de gnang ba yang yun tu brtan zhing mngon
39. bar bya ba'i phyir / mdo' rdo rings la bris te mtha' phyag rgyas
40. btab[14] nas / gtsug lag khang dang / gtsigs kyi mkhar bu'i
41. drung du bzhag pa yin gyis // rje blon phyi rabs mnga' mdzad pa
42. rnams kyis kyang / nam nam zha zhar gtsigs rnam[15] gnyis[16] kyi yi ge las
43. 'byung ba dang / rdo rings rnam gnyis la bris pa las myi dbri myi
44. bcos myi bsgyur bar gyis shig / /[17] gtsigs snga ma'i steng
45. du phyis gtsigs bsnan bskyed de / gnang ba yang / zhib tu ni
46. gtsigs gyi yi ge la bris te / phyag sbal du
47. bzhag / dpe gcig gtsigs[18] snga ma dang phyogs
48. su gtsigs kyi mkhar bu 'dir[19] bzhag / dpe
49. gcig 'og dper 'chang du bcug go //

Notes to the East Text

1) W: ø

2) R 2: ø

3) R 2: ø

4) W: smang

5) W, R 2: du

6) W: rang

7) W: 'chal. R 1's printed text read 'chal, but his note (p. 8, n. 4) and translation indicate that he read 'tshal here.

8) W: phyin

9) W: ø

10) W: ø

11) R 1: dang stong; R 2: [dang] stong. Final -ng is clearly visible and initial d- is partially visible in Richardson's photo (1985: plate 8). W: dang stod

12) R 2: x x

13) W: ma

14) R: bdab

15) W: rnams

16) R 2: gnyis

17) W: ø

18) W: gtsigs

19) R 2: 'dir

Text VII

Text of the Fragmentary Inscription

1. - - - - - - yang nas - /bla/[1] - - t[2] - -
2. pad[3] - - - u myi'i mgon du sa la gshegs na/s/[4]
3. gnam du bzhud pa ni // kha thabs brjod du myi
4. - ng /ya'/[5] bas bram du myi bard[6] de / 'dir ma smos
5. // lha ji chen po gnam lha'i sras las / cho byi tshe gsum dang /[7]
6. mda' myi tse gsum dang / tse tse gsum dang / phyug po tse gsum dang /
7. gyim po tse gsum las stsogs pa spun myi 'pha/gs/[8]
8. /rigs/[9] su gyes so
9. - - - ng gi myes po ste / po ldong tse[10] myag / tor khong - -
10. - - - po sde cha ga ra[11] gyi zhal bu 'di'i bar du myi - - -
11. - - - bar rtse'i[12] ni bdag po / myi - m pa'i ni rgya - - -
12. gnyis de[13] /[14] /la'u/[15]

Notes to the Fragmentary Text

1) R 2: ø

2) R 2: ø

3) W: bd

4) R 2: na-

5) R 2 suggests <u>sa'</u> as a possible alternate reading.

6) W: bdad

7) R 1, W: ø

8) R 2: 'pha-

9) R 2: ø

10) R 2: ce

11) R 2: gar

12) R 2: tse'i

13) W: te

14) W: ø

15) R 2 marks this entire line as an emendation.

Text VII

Translation of the West Inscription

1-3 By command of the God of Supernatural Qualities, btsan-po, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, king of broad heaven, the text of a solemnly sworn oath granted under the (sign of the) eternal g-yung-drung (for) the monk, Ting-nge-'dzin of the Myang clan:

4-9 The monk Ting-nge-'dzin, in particular, was loyal from beginning to end. From the time when I was small, during the period when I had not yet taken over the government, he took the place of my father and mother, and was devoted to the good. Taking the place of a wise uncle he raised me. He joined together father and son, elder and younger brother, mother and son, upper and lower in gladness and harmony. He offered good advice to all, and as to the way he proceeded in his work, etc., he continually did useful things and was constantly loyal.

9-17 Later, disagreements between my father and elder brother arose in close succession; and thereafter, at the time when I had not yet taken over the government, there were also some certain individuals who stirred up dissention and demons. The monk Ting-nge-'dzin, having taken the measure of the situation, offered useful advice. He caused that there should be no disorder and took in hand the basis

for doing all manner of good things, whereupon, in connection with my government, etc., he did great good deeds for all. On my behalf he continually advanced the government and was constantly loyal. He exercised control (of:) over all above and below and continually caused that there was happiness and no disturbance in (all) directions.

17-19 And also through his having performed the duties of a Great Minister of State, he continually did only good and useful things for all at both that time and subsequently.

19-23 Thus, he was more loyal than anyone both before and after and he constantly made great contributions. In accordance with earlier appropriate (examples:) precedents I intended to bestow my favor in a suitable manner, whereupon the monk himself, adhering to the custom of a follower and subject and the proper way of a bhikṣu, begged not to receive my favor. But despite this, because recompense for a contribution is the rule in bestowing favor; therefore, by my command:

24-31 (As for:) to the monk Ting-nge-'dzin a mighty decree is given, and by the (sign of the) eternal g-yung-drung prerogatives are granted. In order to cause that he shall eternally be secure and happy and to cause that all shall know of it, at this temple, the receptacle of the (Three) Jewels, a small building for (housing) the decree was built

and a stone pillar was set up, after which the main points of the decree were clearly written on the stone and a seal was affixed (at) the end. And because it has been put in place, let my sons and grandsons who afterwards exercise power and the ministers of state who afterwards hold sway, etc. cause that one shall never diminish, tamper with, or make changes in what comes from the text of the decree or what is written on the pillar.

32-35 For all time the line of the generations of btsan-pos shall with their eyes scrutinize the sons or male descendants of the minister, Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong, grandfather of the monk Ting-nge-'dzind, whereupon the worthy ones shall be placed in the (royal) retinue; and they shall be honored and praised according to whatever their capabilities may be.

35-37 And if by others they are tormented or (bound up:) put under arrest resulting in punishment, it shall be suppressed by the authorities. And if the (alleged) evil prove to be untrue, the slander will not be heeded; and they shall not be punished in consequence of their incarceration.

37-40 And if someone among the sons or male descendants of Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong shall be disloyal to our person or government, or shall commit some other crime, whoever has offended shall be condemned; but upon the others, his fellow clansmen and male progeny who have done no wrong, judgement

shall not be pronounced. They shall not be charged with penalty, nor shall (the case) be continued. And whatever shall have been done wrong, on that one count (his punishment) for such an offense shall be reduced.

40-42 It is permitted that the (name:) prestige of the immutable insigne shall not be destroyed; and it is further granted to them as a group (?) that their great offices shall be felicitous. And the rank of district governor is given hereditarily.

42-45 As regards the liegemen, fields, high pastures, grasslands, and forests of the sons and male descendants of Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong, it is granted; etc. that if (the said descendants) are without issue or if they are involved in penalties, then (the said properties) will not be confiscated or given (to) others. Until they have been offered from below, they will not in any way be taken away or seized.

46-50 As for this decree which has been granted, wherein (it is stipulated that) the prerogatives of the sons and male descendants of the minister, Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong shall forever be felicitous and secure, having been so granted for all time, it is not to be changed or tampered with; wherefore I have granted a solemnly sworn oath. And, Mu-rug-brtsan my elder brother, (the queen sisters:) my queens, the feudal princes, the ministers of state, and below them the officials high and low having all been sworn

by oath, the decree is hereby granted under (the sign of) the eternal g-yung-drung.

50-54 The details of the way the monk Ting-nge-'dzin was loyal, and how he made contributions, and how he did useful things, and (moreover) of what decree was given (him) have been written into the text of the decree and placed in the archives. One copy, with seal affixed, has been placed in this depository for (housing) the decree. One copy, with seal affixed, has been caused to be held as a secondary copy.

54-55 As to the line of Dbyi-gong, great-uncle (?) of the monk Ting-nge-'dzind, (to them) also a solemnly sworn decree is granted.

56-58 Formerly, while the Myang and the Dba's were similar in having been loyal and having made contributions, yet, if compared with the corresponding case of the Dba's, the grace (shown) the Myang seems to have been small. Consequently, by my command, it is granted that with regard to the decree for the Myang a supplement shall be added.

58-62 If it shall ever prove necessary to open this decree depository, then whoever of my sons and grandsons holds governmental power shall appoint more than three honest keepers of the decree, reliable ring-lugs, and (joining hands:) in concert they shall bring (the decree) forth. And

afterwards it shall in this way be sealed with a (royal) seal and the seal of the ring-lugs and then redeposited. It is so granted.

Text VII

Notes to the Translation of the West Inscription

1. Gnam-lhab "broad heaven" occurs in the THC (Bacot 1940-6:81, 85) in the expression gnam-lhab-kyi bla-na, translated by Bacot as "au-dessus du ciel médian", with added note: "lhab. la Mahāvyutpatti, édition de Kyōto, n° 8066, donne l'équivalence madhyam = lhabs". With this we may also compare Das (p. 1338) lhabs (Skt. madhya) "middle" (after: Sanskrit terms from Tibetan-Sanskrit Lexicons of Tibet explained by Satis Chandra Acharya, M.A.). Bacot's solution is thus to take our lhab as a variant of lhabs, which he believes means "middle". In this he is followed by Richardson (1952-3, II:4, n. 1; 1985:47, n. 1), thus: "Mid-Heaven". There are serious difficulties with Bacot's theory. If we refer to Mvy. 8066 we find that this entry occurs as part of a long list of numerical terms, and its immediate neighbors in the list are all names of enormous or hyperbolic numbers. To find a word meaning "middle" in this list would seem odd. The Chinese gloss on entry 8066 is pai-tsai 百載, the name of an astronomically high number. Turning to Csoma's edition of Mvy. (Csoma 1984:214) we find that his English gloss on madhyam and lhabs is "10,000 billions". Bod-Rgya (p. 3099) glosses lhabs as grangs-gnas shig "a numeral" and adds the Chinese glosses pai-tsai (same as above) and i ta shu-ming 一大數名 "name of a large number". All this strongly suggests that madhyam of

the Mvy. entry does not mean "middle" at all but is rather the name of a number. The exact origin of Das' gloss remains difficult to trace, but it is very probably derived in some way from the Mvy. entry and may ultimately be the result of a misunderstanding similar to that of Bacot. In summary, lhabs in Mvy. 8066 is surely the name of a large number and cannot be explained as "middle". We gain nothing by explaining lhab as a form of lhabs. Bacot's solution must be rejected.

Stein (1981:233) takes a very different tack. He thinks of a passage in Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (ja 73b, line 2) which refers to Khri-srong-lde-btsan as gnam lha-babs-kyi bdag-po "Seigneur descendu des dieux du ciel" and suggests that our lhab may be a fusion of lha-bab. Wang (1982:115) tacitly adopts a similar approach, for though he does not comment on our line, he translates gnam-lhab-kyi rgyal-po as t'ien-chiang-chih wang 天降之王 "the king who has come down from Heaven". This idea is ingenious but requires us to assume an ad hoc fusion of a sort that is not common in OT texts. It is in the end a troublesome solution.

Haarh (1969:419), without commenting on lhab, translates gnam-lhab-kyi bla-na of the THC passage as "in the uppermost part of the widely expanded Heaven". Lhab is listed by Bod-Rgya as an ancient or archaic word meaning "broad, expansive". It occurs in a WT compound lhab-lhab "wide, broad-flowing (sc. clothing)". According to Goldstein (1978:1226) it survives in the Lhasa dialect in the sense "wide, broad", and we find it there again in the

expression sems lhab-lhab "kind, sensitive (< 'broad-minded')". In the sense "wide, broad" lhab is thus a living word with a very respectable pedigree. Haarh's solution draws directly and naturally on the basic and well-attested sense of lhab, avoids all appeal to phonetic slight of hand, and yields a credible meaning, "broad heaven". It is simple and convincing.

2-3. Myang Ting-nge-'dzin (variant: 'dzind, W. 32, 55) was a subscriber to the oath attached to the Edict of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan at the Founding of Karchung Chapel (Tucci 1950:54, 103), where his name follows immediately upon that of the great monk-official, Bran-ka Dpal-gyi-yon-tan. Most of the historically reliable information we have on his life derives from the present inscriptions. His name also figures in certain traditional Buddhist histories, which accounts have been reviewed and discussed by Richardson (1952-3; 1985:43-45). The Myang clan played a prominent role in the founding of the Yarlung dynasty (Wang 1982:117; Richardson 1985:44). The clan-name Myang was transcribed by the Chinese as ming 明 (mjwæng), as in Text I N. 40. Ting-nge-'dzin is the standard Tibetan transcription of Skt. samādhi (Mvy. 1932). It corresponds to Chinese ting 定 in the Sino-Tibetan Glossary (Li 1961:251, 285-6).

4. Snying nye is glossed in Bod-Rgya as "friendly, intimate, loving". To this the Chinese glosses add "sincere, loyal". Li (1956a:57) argues that in early texts the

expression is a synonym of glo-ba nye "loyal". Glo-ba nye and snying nye do not co-occur in any inscriptional texts.

6. Zhang drung-po is translated by Richardson (1985: 47) as "wise uncle", and we agree with this rendering. Drung-po is well-known in the sense "wise, skilled, able, sensible, judicious, etc." Earlier, Richardson (1952-3, II: 4) had followed Tibetan informants who preferred to take drung-po as "real, true", i.e. consanguineous. This sense for the word is known in modern Tibetan; cf. Goldstein (1978:580) khong nga (sic) a-khu drung-drung red "He is my true uncle". It may be derived from drung "near to, close, etc." How old it is seems uncertain.

11. Stson-pa may be an old form of son-pa ~ gson-pa "to rouse, stir into life, urge on". The OT cluster sts- frequently yields WT s-, e.g. OT gstsan = WT gsan "to listen to"; OT la-stsogs-pa = WT la-sogs-pa "and so forth".

12. Nyam-drod zin "having taken measure of the situation." It has been suggested at Text II S. 25-6 that nyam-drod is a variant of WT nyams-drod, which means (after Bod-Rgya) "idea, intention, resolve, determination (to do something)". Zin-pa is a known variant of 'dzin-pa in WT. With these points in mind we can now compare the idiomatic WT phrase nyams-drod 'dzin-pa which Bod-Rgya defines as "to try, to have a go at; to sound out, take measure of, etc." The basic meaning of this expression seems to be "to take

hold of the intention". We may guess that our nyam-drod zin-pa is a variant of this WT idiom.

16. Gzungs "control". This word is closely cognate to 'dzin-pa bzung gzung zung(s) and basically means "a hold". It has in WT the specialized Buddhist sense dhāraṇī "a spell or formula (which holds or controls)", but this is not applicable here. We have taken gzungs in the sense "hold, control"; but it is also possible that it means "a hold, support", thus: "he acted as support...". Richardson (1985:47, 175) suggests that gzungs is a variant of gzung "interest, inclination, bias", thus: "he acted in the interests of..." This gzung is also closely cognate to 'dzin and gzungs (the stem of all three words is zung) and basically means "hold" (see compounds and their glosses in Bod-Rgya, p. 2506). Its sense "interest, etc." in the dictionaries seems actually to be a specialized Buddhist application, i.e. "(hold>) attachment (to the physical world, to sensations, etc.)". We feel that this sense is less applicable here.

20. Zho-sha, literally "curds/milk and meat" were originally the fealty offerings presented to the king by loyal vassals. For discussion see Stein (1972:117). Richardson (1952-3, II:4; 1985:49, n. 4) concludes that zho-sha in our passage means "gifts", i.e. material offerings. But zho-sha had yet another and broader sense in OT, as can be seen in the Sino-Tibetan Glossary (Li 1961:264) where rang-

gi zho-shas bsgrubs-pha "to complete by one's own zho-sha" translates Chinese tzu-li yin-chih 自力引致 "to bring about through one's own efforts". Here it would seem that something other than material goods is meant by zho-sha. What has apparently happened is that zho-sha has come to mean a "contribution (in the form of action)" rather than merely a material gift. It is this sense which seems to have been adopted by Wang (1982:116) when he paraphrases zho-sha chen-po 'bul-'bul-ba as feng-hsien i-ch'ieh li-liang hsiao-chung chin-chih 奉獻一切力量效忠盡職 "offering up his entire effort, he proffered his loyalty and did his duty to the end." Between lines 4 and 19 our text praises Myang Ting-nge-'dzin's loyalty and reviews his laudable acts. The next section then immediately says, "In this way ('di-ltar) he was more loyal than anyone before or after and constantly offered great zho-sha." It seems possible that Wang is right and that the "great zho-sha" were the meritorious acts mentioned in the preceding section rather than material gifts. With this possibility in mind we prefer to translate zho-sha as "contributions" here.

24. On srid see II N. 23-24, note.

33. Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong, grandfather of Myang Ting-nge-'dzin, was probably the same person as Myang 'Dus-kong, who is mentioned in the THA entry for 745 (Bacot 1940-6:26, 52).

Text VII

35. Stams-las chad, literally "to undergo punishment arising out of and/or following upon having been bound up (?)". Stams may be a variant of sdams, a form of sdom-pa bsdams "to bind, tie up".

39. Bka'-nard. Richardson (1952-3, II:1, n. 7) suggests that nard is a form of mnar "to oppress, torment" and translates bka'-nard myi-mdzad as "they shall not be....reprimanded" (p. 3). Later (1985:160) he glosses bka'-nard as "harsh" and translates "no harsh order shall be passed against them" (p. 51). Wang (1982:116) without comment translates bka'-nard as tse-ch'ien 責譴 "to reprimand", perhaps following Richardson. The word bka'-nard is a hapax legomenon, and we can only guess at its meaning. Our suggestion is that nard is an old form of nar, whose basic sense is "extended, continuous, elongated". This word is attested in Text VI. 28 (Richardson's restored version) in the phrase nar-du "continuously". Perhaps bka'-nard means "prolongation, continuation"; or, as a legal term, "continuance".

41. Chang-kyur is clearly a variant form of chang-khyur, which occurs in various OT texts (see, for example, Thomas 1955:129). This seems to be the terminative form of chang-khyu, an archaic WT word meaning "assemble, gather; an assembly, gathering" (Chos-grags, Bod-Rgya). Chang-khyur (~kyur) may mean "as a group, together, collectively".

44-45. Mas ma-phul phan-cad -- very literally: "up until the point where they are not yet offered by (those) below..."

48. Mu-rug-brtsan is well-known from traditional histories as the elder brother of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan. His name is most commonly given as Mu-rug-btsan-po. For other variants, see Haarh (1969:57-58).

As can be seen from the Edict of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan at the Founding of Karchung Chapel (Tucci 1950:54, 103) jo-mo mched is a collective term used by the king in referring to his wives. The Edict names three queens. Haarh (1969: 58) finds in traditional histories the names of four queens for Khri-lde-srong-brtsan.

55. Myes-khu-po "grandfather-uncle" or "ancestor-uncle" would seem to mean "great-uncle".

Dbyi-gong is not otherwise known.

56. The Dba's clan, like the Myang, played an important role in the founding of the Yarlung Dynasty and had continued to be a source of prominent ministers and statesmen (Wang 1982:118, n. 7; Richardson 1985:45).

57-58. Zur-phyung is glossed by Goldstein (1978:1009) as "a supplement".

58. Brnan-bskyed is a variant form of bsnan-bskyed "to augment, increase" which occurs several times in the East inscription (E. 34, 38, 45).

59. The basic sense of ring-lugs seems to be "customs of long standing; a religious doctrine or school", which is attested in OT texts and survives in WT. But it was also used to refer to individuals who were presumably originally perceived as followers or upholders of established customs or doctrines. In the secular sphere the ring-lugs seem to have functioned as commissioners or notaries, as would appear to be the case in our text. Many examples are cited by Thomas (1955:182). The ring-lugs also served as religious functionaries, as in Texts VIII. 42 and IX. 40, 41. Richardson (1985:53, n. 12) cites from P.T. 1002 the term ring-lugs ban-de which reflects this aspect of the word. Cf. also Richardson (1973:16, n. 13). As the title of a religious official ring-lugs survives in WT (Bod-Rgya, p. 2695). Whether there were two distinct types of ring-lugs in the late royal period, secular and religious, or merely one office with functions in both areas, is a question for further study.

61-62. A distinction is made here between two types of seals, i.e. the phyag-rgya (honorific), as in lines 28, 53, and 54 above, referring to the seals attached by the royal house, and the plain or non-honorific rgya of the ring-lugs.

Translation of the East Inscription

1-4 By command of the king of men, personified by a god, the btsan-po, God of Supernatural Qualities, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan,

For the monk, Ting-nge-'dzind of the Myang clan, a solemnly sworn decree granted subsequent (to the earlier decree):

4-11 The monk Ting-nge-'dzin advanced my government and continuously made great contributions. And at the time of granting of the former decree, in accordance with appropriate precedents and the circumstances of his contributions, I granted favor to the appropriate degree, whereupon the monk himself begged not to receive my favor. Then, having been diminished and lowered from the (originally) correctly proportioned decree, the grace did not (any longer) correspond to the circumstances of the contributions and so had become small and fallen short.

11-16 After the monk Ting-nge-'dzin had given over the government to me, during my reign he offered good advice for my person and my government, both at that time and subsequently; and he did great deeds which were beneficial to all. He continuously did great essential things which were

felicitous and useful to those above and below. He was continuously loyal and made greater contributions.

16-25 I had in mind to expand the decree of my favor; but the monk begged that, being sufficient by virtue of the decree granted earlier, it not be further expanded. Nevertheless, ruler and ministers having conferred upon the correctness of bestowing undiminished favor as recompense for great contributions, then, because the monk Ting-nge-'dzin had been loyal and made great contributions, therefore, with regard to my grace, in the later Dragon year (i.e. 812), at the time I was in residence at the palace of 'On-cang-do, it was granted by my command that the decree be expanded anew, over and above the bestowal made according to that decree which was granted earlier. And it was granted that, having been exalted, it shall be greater than the immutable insigne granted earlier.

25-28 Those of the sons or male descendants of the minister, Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong, even commoners, who are of Gtsang and the thousand (-districts), etc. and who are well-qualified in (gate:) household status (?) shall be granted the rights of Zhang-lon yi-ge-can.

28-31 And if there be a case where, though they are guiltless yet someone perpetrates trickery or harm against their lives or prerogatives, then, no matter who is involved, they shall not be cast down in the face of the

tricksters and accusors; but those who (belong to the tricksters:) are implicated in the treachery shall be charged with penalty. It is so granted.

31-33 And from what has been dedicated to the ecclesiastical estate, whatever happens, others either above or below shall not exercise power (over it). It is so granted, etc.

33-35 The things which have been granted to add to and expand the later decree, over and above the earlier decree, are in this way eternally and firmly granted; and even by my solemnly sworn oath are they granted.

35-41 Having fixed my gaze firmly upon (the queen sisters:) my queens, the feudal princes, the ministers of state, and all the lesser officials, and sworn them by oath, (now) in order that what has been granted to add to and expand the decree shall be made eternally firm and clear, the main points have been written on the stone pillar and a seal affixed at the end, whereupon (the pillar) has been set up before the temple and the depository (housing) the decree.

41-44 Wherefore let the later generations of rulers and ministers who hold sway cause that one shall never diminish, tamper with, or make changes in what comes from the texts of the two decrees or what has been written on the two stone pillars.

Text VII

44-49 What was granted subsequently, adding to and expanding the decree, over and above the former decree, has been carefully written into the text of the decree and deposited in the archives. One copy has been placed beside the former decree in this depository for (housing) the decrees. One copy was caused to be held as a secondary copy.

Notes to the Translation of the East Inscription

6. The fundamental meaning of rkyen seems to be "basis, foundation, support", i.e. that upon which something rests. Its concrete sense in OT was "means of support, income, property, requisite things", as in Text VIII. 18, 38, 40. For discussion, see Bogoslovskij (1972:93-94). Its more abstract sense was "the basis for events, the situation or circumstances underlying happenings", hence, "underlying causes", as in rkyen-kyis "because of" (e.g. Thomas 1951:94, line 90.A.3). This led to its use as a Buddhist technical term translating Skt. pratyaya "cause, underlying condition". In our passage and also in line 10 we have zho-sha'i rkyen, the rkyen of the contribution made by Myang Ting-nge-'dzin, in accordance with which the king gauged the level of his gratitude to Ting-nge-'dzin. What seems to be in question here is the total situation underlying the contributions, including perhaps the motives behind them and their ultimate value to the king. We shall translate this congeries of concepts as "circumstances".

11. "After the monk Ting-nge-'dzin had given over the government to me..." This presumably refers to the time when the king reached his majority and assumed governmental power.

Text VII

20-21. Gtsigs sngar gnang-ba yang de-bzhin gnang-ba'i steng-du "over and above the bestowal made according to that decree which was granted earlier". With Wang (1982:127) we take this clause as prefatory to gtsigs gsar-du bskyed-de "the decree is to be expanded anew" in line 24; but syntax forces us to place this prefatory clause at the end of our English sentence. Compare the use of steng-du in lines 33 and 44 below.

22. 'Brug-gi lo phyi-ma "the later Dragon year". This must have been 812. The "earlier Dragon year" would have been 800, indicating that Khri-lde-srong-brtsan's reign had officially begun by that year.

23. 'On-cang-do was a royal palace, probably located near the modern temple of 'U-shang-rdo, on the Skyid-chu about 32 kilometers downstream from Lhasa. It is mentioned several times in the THA, the earliest reference being for the year 700 (Bacot 1940-6:18, 39). For discussion of the location, see Tucci (1950:15-16), Richardson (1952-3, II:10, n. 5) and Wylie (1962:147, n. 294). Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan built a temple at 'On-cang-do in fulfillment of a vow, as revealed by Text VIII. 25-26.

26-27. Gtsang [da]ng stong. Wang (1982:124) reads gtsang dang stod and translates "Gtsang (name of an ancient military-administrative territorial division) and Stod ('the Uplands')". But it is clear from Richardson's photograph

(1985:plate 8) that stong, not stod, is the correct reading. Richardson (1952-3, II:9) translates "Gtsang and the Thousand District". Later (1985:57, n. 3) he has chosen to take gtsang and stong as names of offices because stong occurs in the well-known titles stong-dpon and stong-chung and gtsang is found in the compound gtsang-chen, identified as a high office by Lalou (1955:195). Now stong-dpon is generally thought to mean "commander of a thousand(-district)". Stong-chung seems basically to mean "little (head) of a thousand(-district)" (see Uray 1982:545-546). It seems clear that the word stong in these compounds means "thousand (-district)" and is not the name of an officer. The etymology of gtsang-chen seems obscure. To our knowledge neither gtsang nor stong is attested alone as the name of an official position. It therefore seems safest for the nonce to remain with Richardson's earlier interpretation and take gtsang and stong as territorial terms.

27. Sgor bde-ba -- literally perhaps "well-qualified or felicitously appointed in (gate:) household status". In view of the fact that the grantees could be commoners, the intent of this phrase may have been to insure that the grant would be given to people of suitable economic status and vocation.

30. Phe'u-pa. Li-shi gur-khang, followed by various later dictionaries, lists a word 'phe'u, glossed as gsol-ba; but without context this definition is rather vague.

Presumably it would mean "to make some sort of representation upwards, in the form of a supplication, request, statement, report, etc., etc." Semichov's Tibetan-Russian dictionary (p. 331), which may or may not be based on the Li-shi gur-khang entry, glosses it as "request, petition; deposition, testimony". Chos-grags lists another expression phe'u 'debs "to shout, yell". A variant form of this expression, 'phe'u debs-pa is listed by Richardson (1985:59, n. 4). Combining this material and interpreting it in the context of our passage, we may deduce the sense "hostile representation made upwards", i.e. "an accusation". 'Phe'u-pa would then presumably be "an accusor", the sense originally given to Richardson for the word by his Tibetan informant (1952-3, II:10, n. 6). The syllabic structure of ('phe'u suggests that it is a fusion of some sort (cf. Uray 1950). If we can identify its constituent elements this may throw light on its etymology and ranges of meaning.

31 Lha-ris is defined by Bod-Rgya as "those who have taken monastic vows, the Buddhist clergy".

Partial Translation of the Fragmentary Inscription

1 .....

2-4 ....that, having come to earth as lords of men, they went away to heaven, for oral means to recount it is not.....and so here it has not been spoken of.

5-8 From the great Lha-ji, son of the gods in heaven, the brothers, of Cho-byi three generations, of Mda'-myi three generations, of Tse three generations, of Phyug-po three generations, and of Gyim-po three generations, etc. issued forth as the race of exalted men.

9-12 .....

CHAPTER 10

TEXT VIII: THE INSCRIPTION AT MTSHUR-PHU

Date of the Inscription: reign of Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (815-838)

Location: ruins of the Mtshur-phu Monastery, 80 kilometers west of Lhasa

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Richardson (1949; 1985:92-105); Tucci (1950:16-18, 87-90); Wang (1982:171-181)

Published Rubbings: Wang (1982:plate 18): lines 1-45; (plate 19): lines 12-27 (enlarged)

Published Photographs: none

This text is found on a stone pillar which stood in the courtyard of the monastery of Stod-lung Mtshur-phu, in a tributary valley of the Stod-lung about eighty kilometers west of Lhasa. According to Wang (1982:180) the monastery has been destroyed, but the pillar is still extant at the ruined site and the inscription intact. The pillar is about 2.45 meters tall, 46 centimeters wide, and has a thickness of about 20 centimeters. The text is divided into two parts, the major part in forty-six lines on the broad south face of the pillar, and the minor part (lines 47-68) on the narrow east edge. The major text records the endowment of a

temple by one Tshes-pong Stag-bzang Nya-sto, with the merit for the endowment to devolve on the person of the king, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan. The temple was to be built at Lcang-bu, a place now no longer identifiable but thought by Richardson to have been at or near the site of the monastery of Mtshur-phu. The text is given in the form of a royal bestowal in which each clause or condition of the endowment is "granted" by the sovereign. Such royal approval was perhaps required because the property donated to the temple was to be exempt from taxation (lines 28-31). The final lines specify the disposition of the endowment document and its various copies. The brief minor inscription, which has the appearance of an addendum to the main text, outlines a similar but slightly different disposition of the documents. Perhaps it was for some reason decided that the new arrangement was more satisfactory and that this change must also be recorded on the pillar in order not to be in technical violation of the original conditions of the endowment.

The site of the inscription was visited by Richardson in 1946 and the text was first published and studied by him in 1949. Tucci published his reading and translation in 1950. More recently the inscription has been reviewed by Wang (1982) and Richardson (1985). Our reading follows Wang's rubbings for lines 1-45 and the published readings of Richardson, Tucci, and Wang for the remainder of the text.

Text VIII

Text of the Inscription

1. // zhang tshes pong stag bzang nya stos /
2. stod kyi lcang bur / gtsug lag khang brtsigs
3. pa'i[1] lo rgyus // rdo rings la bri bar /:/[2] btsan
4. po'i bka's gnang ste bris pa' /:/
5. // btsan po lha sras yab myes kyi sku ring la /
6. dam pa'i chos brnyes nas // gdung rabs
7. su dam pa'i[3] chos myi gtang zhing mdzad par
8. chos gtsigs dang / bka' lung stsald pa.
9. las 'byung ba bzhin //[4] zhang tshes pong nya stos /
10. dam pa'i chos nyams su blangs //[5] btsan
11. po lha sras / khri gtsug lde brtsan 'phrul gyi
12. bka' drin //[6] zhang nya sto la cher stsald pas
13. bka' drin chen po bsab pa'i phyir //
14. btsan po sku yon du bsngos te //[7] smon lam
15. rgya cher btab nas //[8] stod lungs kyi lcang bur
16. /[9] gtsug lag khang brtsigs ste //[10] dkon
17. mchog gsum gyi rten btsugs //[11] dge
18. slong bzhi gnas par sbyar nas //[12] rkyen kyi
19. bran dang /[13] zhing 'brog dang / lha cha dang / nor rdzas
20. dang / rkang 'gros las stsogs pa / tshang bar
21. bcad[14] de // btsan po[15] khri gtsug lde brtsan
22. gyi sku yon rgyun myi[16] 'chad par byed do //
23. gtsug lag khang 'di'i mtshan yang //
24. btsan po'i bka' zhal gyis btags ste /
25. 'on cang do'i thugs dam gyi gtsug lag
26. khang chen po'i mjug la gdags shing /

27. chis kyang / bla nas mdzad par // bka's
28. gnang // lha ri̇s kyi 'bangs dang / dkor
29. la / khral myi̇ dbab pa dang /[17] khwa dang / chad ka
30. myi[18] bzhes pa las stsogs pa yang // lha ri̇s[19]
31. chen po'i thang du // bka's gnang ngo //
32. gtsug lag khang 'di̇'i rkyen ri̇s[20] bsngo zhing
33. spyad pa yang // zhang nya stos /[21] ji̇[22] ltar byas shi̇ng /
34. bsngos pa bzhi̇n brtsan bar[23] //[24] bka's gnango /
35. / nam zhi̇g na // zhang nya sto la / bu tsha rgyud yong
36. myed pa zhi̇g du gyur na // khol yul las stsogs
37. pa dbang ngo cog // blar yang myi̇[25] bzhes /
38. gyang[26] myi̇ sbyin bar // gtsug lag khang 'di̇ rkyen /
39. du bsnan par // bka's gnang ngo /
40. gtsug lag khang gi̇ rkyen bcad pa'i̇[27] dkar
41. cag dang / bsngos yi̇g bla dpe ni // bcom ldan
42. 'da's ri̇ng[28] lugs kyi 'dun sar bzhag //
43. 'og dpe ni //[29] 'on cang do gtsug lag khang gi̇
44. gnas brtan dang / mngan la stsald //[30] dpe
45. de dang 'dra ba gci̇g ni // gtsug lag khang
46. 'dir gzhag par //[31] bka's gnang ngo[32] //[33]
47. /[33a] zhang tshes pong
48. gsas sto'i bu
49. tsha //[34] gtsigs
50. gnang ba'i̇ /[35] bla
51. dpe ni //[36] phyi̇ng ba
52. 'i̇[37] skun mkhar
53. na //[38] gtsi̇gs[39]

dzas

Text VIII

54. chen po gzhan gyi
55. zla la bzhag //[40] de
56. dang 'dra ba rnam
57. gcig ni / gtsigs
58. gzhan gyi zla la /[41]
59. bka'i sar bzhag
60. /[42] gtsigs kyi[43] /[44]
61. 'og dpe 'phra
62. men gyi sgrom bu
63. ni[45] / gtsug lag
64. khang 'di'i mdzod
65. du gzhag[46] par
66. bka's gnang
67. ngo //
68. bkra shis /[47]

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R 1:	Richardson (1949)
R 2:	Richardson (1985)
T:	Tucci (1950)
W:	Wang (1982)

1) T, W: pa'i
2) T, W: /:
3) T, W: pa'i
4) T, W: /
5) T: /
6) T: /
7) T, W: /
8) T, W: /
9) T, W: ø
10) T, W: /
11) T, W: /
12) T, W: /
13) T, W: ø
14) W: btsad
15) R 2: pho
16) T, W: mi̱
17) T: //
18) T, W: myi̱

Text VIII

19) R 1, T, W: ris

20) W: rɨm

21) T, W: //

22) T, W: ji

23) W: par

24) T, W: /

25) T, W: myi

26) W: kyang

27) T, W: pa'i

28) T, W: ring

29) T, W: /

30) T,W: /

31) T,W: /

32) R 1: do

33) T, W: /

33a) T, W: //

34) T, W: /

35) T, W: ø

36) T, W: /

37) T, W: 'i

38) T, W: /

39) T, W: gtsigs

40) T, W: /

41) T, W: ø

42) T, W: ø

43) T: kyɨ

44) T, W: ø

45) R 2: nɨ

46) R 2: bzhag. R 2's index lists this form as gzhag.

47) R 1 and R 2 lack line 68.

Text VIII

Translation

1-4 An account of how the zhang, Stag-bzang Nya-sto of the Tshes-pong clan built the temple at Lcang-bu in Stod, which account was written down upon the btsan-po's having granted by command that it should be inscribed on a pillar.

5-10 After the holy Law had been received in the time of the btsan-pos, Sons of the Gods, father and grandfather, a religious decree and an order were bestowed that for generations one should practice and not abandon the holy Law. In accordance with what came forth from these bestowals, the zhang, Nya-sto of the Tshes-pong clan took to heart the holy Law.

10-17 Because the supernatural grace of the btsan-po, Son of the Gods, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, was bestowed in great degree upon the zhang, Nya-sto, therefore, in order to repay the great favor, (Nya-sto) made a dedication as gift (of) the btsan-po; and, having addressed prayers on a large scale, he built a temple at Lcang-bu in Stod-lungs and established a receptacle of the Three Jewels.

17-22 Having arranged for four bhikṣus to dwell (there), he fully set aside as assets the requisite servants, fields and pastures, sacred utensils, treasures, cattle, etc., and

caused that the continuation of the gift of the btsan-po, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, should not be cut off.

23-31 The name of this temple was given by the btsan-po's own mouth; and it was granted by command that it be (attached under:) put under the control of the great temple (built in fulfillment) of a vow at 'On-cang-do, with its administrative affairs to be handled from above. And (the right) that taxes not be levied upon the subjects and valuables of the ecclesiastical estate, and that rents and fines not be exacted, etc. was granted by command to the authority of the great ecclesiastical estate.

32-34 As to the dedication and putting together of the property of this temple, it was granted by command that it should remain secure, in accordance with the way the zhang, Nya-sto had framed and dedicated it.

35-39 If in future it should happen to the zhang, Nya-sto that the line of his sons or male descendants should ever be no more, then whatever landholdings, etc. are under their control shall neither be confiscated by the authorities nor given (to others); but rather they shall be added to the property of this temple. By command it is so granted.

40-46 The register in which is apportioned the property of the temple, together with the primary copy of the

document of dedication, was placed in the assembly place of the ring-lugs of the Bhagavān; and a secondary copy was presented to the Elder of the temple at 'On-cang-do and to the Custodian. A copy which resembles that one shall be deposited in this chapel. By command it is so granted.

47-67 The primary copy of the decree granted (with reference to) the sons and grandsons of the zhang, Gsas-sto of the Tshes-pong clan, was placed in combination with the other great decrees, at the castle of Phying-ba. Another which resembled that one was placed in combination with other decrees at the place (stipulated) in the command. A secondary copy will be placed in the treasury of this chapel (in) an inlaid (or: gilt) chest. It was so granted

68 Happiness!

Notes to the Translation

1. Tshes-pong Stag-bzang Nya-sto is apparently otherwise unknown in OT sources. According to Richardson (1985: 93) he is mentioned in a late work, the Sngon-gyi gtam me-tog phreng-ba (ed. New Delhi 1984, p. 27b), as Zhang Tshe-spong Rtag-bzang Nya-lto, founder of a temple in Stod-lungs which was an annex of 'On-can-rdo. This temple would seem to be that whose establishment is recorded in our text.

2. Stod is short for Stod-lung(s) (cf. line 15 below), the "Upper Valley", which, according to Wylie (1962:149, n. 321) is "the valley on the right bank of the Skyid-chu to the west of 'Bras-spungs monastery". The name Lcang-bu is not known as a modern geographical term, but three different places of this name are mentioned in the THA (see Wang, et al. 1980:249). One of these, po-brang stod-gyi lcang-bu "the palace of Lcang-bu in Stod" (THA 757; Bacot 1940-46:57, 64) clearly refers to our Lcang-bu. Richardson (1949:50; 1985:92) plausibly suggests that the site of present day Stod-lung Mtshur-phu is at or near that of the earlier Lcang-bu.

8. The chos-gtsigs "religious decrees" in question here are probably the famous edicts of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan and Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, recorded in the Mkhas-pa'i

dga'ston and published by Tucci (1950:95-104); see also Richardson (1980). Note that Texts III and IX also allude to these edicts.

11-12. 'Phrul-gyi bka'-drin "supernatural grace". 'Phrul in this phrase is taken by Richardson (1949:62) as modifying the preceding name, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, thus: "Tri Tsug De Tsan the Miraculous". Tucci (1950:16 and 77, n. 38) takes 'phrul as a short form for 'phrul-gyi lha, thus: "K'ri gtsug lde btsan, the (divine) emanation". Richardson (1985:95) does not translate 'phrul here or list this occurrence of it in his index (p. 171). Stein (1981) has cited numerous cases where 'phrul-gyi..... serves as attributive to different types of noun heads. One of his examples is our 'phrul-gyi dgongs (Text I E. 55) "Sublime Thoughts". 'Phrul-gyi bka'-drin is almost certainly a phrase of this type.

14. Btsan-po sku-yon-du bsngos-te "it was dedicated as a gift of the btsan-po". According to Tucci (1950:78, n. 39) this means that the merit or spiritual benefit of the good acts performed by Nya-sto were to devolve on the person of the king; cf. also Stein (1983:188).

15. Stod-lungs is the name of a valley, now usually spelled Stod-lung. See note to line 2 above.

18. On rkyen, see note to Text VII E. 6. Here rkyen refers to the foundation or support, i.e. property, upon which the finances of the temple should rest.

27. Chis "management, administration, business affairs" has been studied by Richardson (1969a) and Imaeda (1979). Cf. Text I E. 10, note.

29. The khwa may have been the same as the khwa-ba, a word defined by Das as "rent or tax in kind". Bogoslovskij (1972:88-9) believes that the chad-ka was irregularly imposed (as opposed to the khral which was a regular impost) and was punitive in nature, i.e. a fine.

30-31. Lha-ris chen-po is believed by Tucci (1950:78, n. 42) to refer to the greater monastic community of the 'On-cang-do temple, as opposed to plain lha-ris in line 38, which would denote the community at the ancillary establishment of Lcang-bu.

41-42. Bcom-ldan-'da's = Bcom-ldan-'das = Skt. Bhagavān, an epithet of the Buddha.

42. On ring-lugs see Text VII W. 59, note. Here the word clearly refers to a religious official. The original meaning was perhaps "followers or upholders (of) the customs (i.e. doctrines) of long standing".

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44. Gnas-brtan = Skt. sthavira "elder; senior monk".

The mngan "Custodians" were officials in charge of fiscal affairs and revenue. Their functions have been studied by Bogoslovskij (1972:135-138). For further discussion, see Uray (1962b). Cf. also mngan-pon "chief of the mngan" in Text I N. 32-33. In their role as fiscal officers, the mngan maintained records and documentation regarding property rights, economic activities, etc.

47-49. Zhang Tshes-pong Gsas-sto'i bu-tsha. The identity of Tshes-pong Gsas-sto is uncertain. Richardson (1949: 62, n. 1) and Wang (1982:181) take the name as a changed form of Tshes-pong Stag-bzang Nya-sto. Tucci does not comment on the problem. Richardson (1985:93) suggests that Gsas-sto was the father of Nya-sto and therefore a forbear of all the latter's descendants. Without information on the clan's genealogy there seems to be no way to resolve this problem.

The construction as a whole is unmarked for case, which has led to differing syntactical interpretations. Richardson (1949:63) and Tucci (1950:17) take the entire phrase as agentive to the verb bzhag, while Wang (1982:181) and Richardson (1985:103) see it as dative to the verb gnang-ba. Now while agentive constructions are in general always marked in these texts, dative relationships involving verbs of giving, granting, etc. are sometimes realized in the form of topical constructions, e.g. VII W. 54-55 Ban-de Ting-nge-dzind-kyi myes-khu-po Dbyi-gong-gi rgyud kyang / dbu-snyung

gtsigs gnang-ngo // "As to the line of Dbyi-gong, great uncle (?) of the monk Ting-nge-'dzind, (to them) also a solemnly sworn decree is granted". For this reason the interpretation of Wang and Richardson (1985) is to be preferred.

51. Phying-ba was the name of the hill on which was located the royal castle of Phying-ba-stag-rtse (see Text IV. 4-5, note).

52. Skun-mkhar is a sandhi variant of sku-mkhar, respectful form of mkhar "fortress, castle".

59. Bka'i sar "at the place of the command" presumably refers to the distribution of copies stipulated in the main edict above.

CHAPTER 11

TEXT IX: THE SKAR-CUNG INSCRIPTION

Date of the Inscription: reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (799 ?-815)

Location: Ra-ma-sgang, 3.2 kilometers southwest of Lhasa

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Richardson (1949; 1973; 1985:72-81); Tucci (1950:4-8, 53-54, 104-108; Wang (1982:151-163)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: Richardson (1949:plate X):lines 32-41 (42); (1963:plate 17): lines 38-41 (partial); (1985:plate 10): lines 24-35 (36); Snellgrove and Richardson (1968:38): lines 24-36

This inscription is found on a pillar near a small temple at Ra-ma-sgang, a village about 3.2 kilometers southwest of Lhasa, on the south bank of the Skyid-chu. The inscribed surface is about 4.41 meters high and 76 centimeters wide. According to Wang (1982:160) the pillar is extant.

The inscription, in fifty-seven lines, outlines the history of royal patronage of Buddhism and celebrates the founding by Khri-lde-srong-brtsan of a temple at Skar-cung

(later also spelled Skar-chung and 'Khar-chung), now generally thought to have been located at the site of present-day Ra-ma-sgang. The inscription closes with the statement that a more detailed account has been deposited elsewhere. This document is thought to be the "Edict of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan at the Founding of Karchung Chapel", preserved in the Mkhas-pa'i dga'ston and published by Tucci (1950:100-104). One portion of it is very similar to lines 30-50 of our text.

The Skar-cung inscription was first published by Richardson (1949) who has subsequently done two more studies of it (1973, 1985). The text has also been published by Tucci (1950:104-108), who has translated lines 4-18 (p. 14). His rendering of pertinent portions of the "Edict of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan" (pp. 53-54) can be compared with lines 30-50 of our text. Wang's study of the text appeared in his 1982 compendium.

Our reading of the inscription is based on the photographs of Richardson for lines 24-41, and on the various published versions for the remainder of the text.

Text IX

Text of the Inscription

1. //[1] 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri lde srong brtsan gyi[2] ring
2. la // dam pa'i chos yun tu[3] brtan bar[4] gtsigs
3. brnan pa //
4. //[5] 'phrul gyi lha btsan po / myes / khri[6] srong brtsan gyi[7]
5. ring[8] la // sangs rgyas kyi chos mdzad de // ra sa'i gtsug
6. lag khang las stsogs pa brtsigs shing[9] // dkon mchog
7. gsum gyi rten btsugs pa dang // myes /[10] khri 'dus srong gi
8. ring[11] la //[12] gling gi khri[13] rtse las stsogs par / gtsug lag
9. khang brtsigs ste // dkon mchog gsum gyi rten btsugs
10. pa dang // myes /[14] khri[15] lde gtsug brtsan gyi ring la // brag mar gyi
11. kwa cu[16] dang / mching[17] phur gtsug lag khang brtsigs[18] ste // dkon
12. mchog gsum gyi rten btsugs pa dang // yab /[19] khri srong lde
13. brtsan gyi ring la // brag mar gyi bsam yas las stsogs
14. pa // dbung[20] mthar gtsug lag khang brtsigs[21] ste //[22] dkon
15. mchog gsum gyi rten btsugs pa dang // lha btsan po /[23] khri /
16. lde srong brtsan gyi ring la yang //[24] skar cung gtsug lag khang
17. las stsogs pa brtsigs ste // dkon mchog gsum gyi rten
18. btsugs pa las stsogs pa // gdung rabs rgyud gyis[25] /
19. 'di[26] ltar sangs rgyas kyi[27] chos mdzad pa 'di // nam du yang ma
20. zhig /[28] ma btang na // legs pa dpag du myed par 'gyur
21. btang ste / zhig[29] gam / myed par gyur na // sdig[30] pa grangs myed
22. par 'ong bas // da phyin chad nam nam zha zhar //[31] 'phrul gyi lha
23. btsan po /[32] yab /[33] khri[34] srong lde brtsan gyi ring la // dkon mchog
24. gsum gyi rten btsugs pa dang /[35] sangs rgyas kyi chos mdzad pa

25. myi gtang ma zhig par // gdung rabs rgyud kyis[36] yi dam bca'o
26. zhes 'byung ba las stsogs pa // btsan po yab sras // rje[37]
27. blon /[38] kun[39] kyis dbu snyung dang bro bor te // gtsigs kyi yi ge dang /[40]
28. rdo rings[41] la bris pa bzhin du yang mdzad do // 'di ltar //[42] yab
29. myes /[43] gdung rabs rgyud kyis // dkon mchog gsum gyi rten
30. btsugs shing /[44] sangs rgyas kyi chos mdzad pa 'di // gces spras ci
31. la yang /[45] sdig go zhe'am / ma legs so zhes /[46] mo dang rmyi ltas las
32. stsogs ste / ci'i phyir yang rung ste / myi gzhig go / myi spang ngo // de skad
33. ces / che chung sus gsold kyis kyang / de ltar myi[47] mdzad do // btsan
34. po dbon sras // sku chu ngur bzhugs pa yan cad // chab srid kyi
35. mnga' bdag mdzad pa man cad kyang // dge slong las / dge ba'i[48]
36. bshes nyen bskos ste / chos thugs suci chud chud du bslab cing[49] //[50] bod
37. yongs kyis kyang chos slob cing spyad pa'i sgo myi gcad / nam du yang bod ya
38. rabs man cad /[51] bod 'bangs las thar par gzud pa'i sgo myi bgag
39. par / dad pa'i rnams las thar par btsud de[52] //[53] de'i nang nas
40. nus pa las //[54] bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs rtag du bsko
41. zhing // bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs byed pa'i[55] rnams chos 'khor
42. nas bya'o cog gi bka' la yang btags ste // chos 'khor gyi las dang
43. dbang byed cing /[56] dge ba'i bshes nyen byed par bsko'o // rab du[57] byung ba'i
44. rnams // nged yab sras kyis /[58] mchod gnas su gnang ba bzhin[59] du byas

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45. ste // btsan po'i / pho brang na dkon mchog gsum gyi rten btsugs shing[60] /[61]

46. mchod pa yang // gu du myi spang myi bskar zhing /[62] mchod gnas su bgyi'o //[63]

47. mdor na // btsan po'i / pho brang dang / bod khams na / dkon mchog[64] gsum myed

48. pa dang /[65] spang ba'i thabs ci[66] yang myi mdzad do //[67] yab myes dbon sras

49. gang gi ring la yang rung ste / dkon mchog gsum gyi rkyen bcad pa'i rnams

50. kyang ma dma's ma zhig pa'i chos su //[68] lha ris kyi khyim yig gi mgo nan[69] las

51. 'byung ba bzhin[70] du chis mdzad do // da phyin chad gdung rabs re re zhing yang /[71]

52. btsan po yab sras kyis / 'di bzhin du yi dam bca'o //[72] de las mna' kha

53. dbud pa dag myi bgyi myi bsgyur bar // 'jig rten las 'das pa dang[73] 'jig

54. rten gyi lha dang myi ma yin[74] pa thams cad kyang / dpang du gsol te // btsan po /[75]

55. rje[76] blon kun kyis kyang /[77] dbu snyung dang /[78] bro bor ro //[79] gtsigs brnand pa'i

56. yi ge zhib[80] mo ni //[81] yab kyi ring la gtsigs kyi yi ge bris pa'i zla la[82]

57. bzhag go //

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R 1:	Richardson (1949)
R 2:	Richardson (1973)
R 3:	Richardson (1985)
T:	Tucci (1950)
W:	Wang (1982)

1) R 1: /; R 2: ø
2) R, W: gyi
3) R 3: du
4) W: par
5) R 1, T: /; R 2: ø
6) R 2: khri
7) R 2: gyi
8) R 1, R 3: ring
9) R 2, R 3: shing
10) R 1, T, W: ø
11) R 1: ring
12) W: /
13) R 2: gling khri
14) R 1, T, W: ø
15) R 1, T, W: khri
16) R 1, T: tsu
17) R 1: mching

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18) R 2, W: brtsigs

19) R 1, T, W: ø

20) R 1, T, W: dbud

21) W: brtsegs

22) R 1, T, W: ø

23) R 1, T, W: ø

24) R 2: /

25) R 2, R 3: kyɨs

26) R 2: 'di

27) R 2: kyi

28) R 1, T, W: //

29) R 2, W: zhɨg

30) W: sdɨg

31) R 1, T: /

32) R 1, T, W: //

33) W: ø

34) R 2, R 3: khrɨ

35) R 1, R 2; T; W: //

36) T, W: kyɨ

37) T: rdze

38) R 1, T, W: ø

39) R 1, T, W: kun /

40) R 1, T, W: ø

41) R 1: rings

42) R 1, T, W: ø

43) W: //

44) R 2: //

45) R 2: //

46) R 3: //

47) R 3: mi

48) R 2: ba'i

49) W: cing

50) R 1, T, W: /

51) R 1, T: //

52) R 1, T, W: te

53) W: /

54) W: /

55) R 2: pa'i

56) R 1, T, W: ø

57) T, W: tu

58) R 1, T, W: ø

59) R 2: bzhin

60) R 2: shing

61) R 1, T, W: ø

62) R 1, T, W: ø

63) R 1, T, W: /

64) R 1: mchog /

65) R 1, T, W: ø

66) R 2: ci

67) T, W: /

68) R 1, T, W: ø

69) T: nag

70) R 1: bzhin

71) R 1, T: ø

72) W: /

73) R 1, T, W: ø

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74) R 2: yin

75) R 1: ø

76) R 1, T: rdze

77) R 1, T, W: ø

78) R 1, T, W: ø

79) W: /

80) R 1: bzhɨb; T, W: zhɨb

81) R 3: /

82) R 1: klad; R 2: la /

Translation

1-3 A decree confirmed in the time of the God of Supernatural Qualities, btsan-po, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, so that the holy Law shall be firm for all time.

4-7 In the time of the God of Supernatural Qualities, btsan-po, the ancestor Khri-srong-brtsan, the Buddha's Law was practiced; the temple of Rasa, etc. was built, and the receptacle of the Three Jewels was set up.

7-10 And in the time of the ancestor Khri-'dus-srong a temple was built at Khri-rtse in Gling, etc., and the receptacle of the Three Jewels was set up.

10-12 And in the time of the ancestor Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan temples were built at Kwa-cu and Mching-phu in Brag-mar, and the receptacles of the Three Jewels were set up.

12-15 And in the time of the father Khri-srong-lde-brtsan temples were built at the center (of the realm) and on the borders, (at) Bsam-yas in Brag-mar, and such places, and the receptacles of the Three Jewels were set up.

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15-18 And also in the time of the god, btsan-po, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan the temple at Skar-cung, etc. was built, and the receptacle of the Three Jewels was set up, etc.

18-22 If the line of generations in this way never destroys or abandons this practice of the Buddha's Law, there will come about good without measure. But if it is abandoned and destroyed or if it is no more, then sins will come without number.

22-26 Therefore, hereafter and for all time: (in view of) the statements, etc. made in the time of the God of Supernatural Qualities, btsan-po, my father, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, which say that the line of generations will make vows that the establishment of the receptacles of the Three Jewels and the practice of the Buddha's Law will not be abandoned or destroyed,

25-28 the btsan-pos, father and sons, rulers and ministers, all having sworn on their heads and avowed it, will act according to the words of the decree and what has been written on the pillar.

28-33 Thus, as for this establishment of the receptacles of the Three Jewels and practice of the Buddha's Law by the line of generations of my ancestors, if (someone) says concerning whatever high regard (there is for the said establishment and practice), "It is evil." or "It is not good.",

then, (whether it be said) on account of divinations and dream omens, etc. or for any reason whatsoever, (the said establishment and practice) shall nonetheless not be destroyed and shall not be abandoned. And no matter who, great or small, has uttered those words, nevertheless it shall not be thus done.

33-37 From the time when the btsan-pos, my (grandsons:) descendants are in their minorities down to the time when they act as governmental rulers, spiritual advisors having been nominated from among the bhikṣus shall teach (them) the Law, greatly imparting any and everything to their minds; and the gate whereby all Tibet shall study and practice the Law shall not be closed.

37-43 In order that the gate whereby they shall be led into deliverance shall never be shut off from the subjects of Tibet from the nobility downwards: from the believers, having been led into deliverance, from the capable among those ones, ring-lugs of the Bhagavān will always be appointed; those who serve as ring-lugs of the Bhagavān will be appointed to act as spiritual advisors, bound to the command that they do everything through the Wheel of the Law, and exercising the functions and power of the Wheel of the Law.

43-46 As to those who have entered the priesthood, we, father and sons, having acted according to (the principle

of) granting them (positions) as objects of veneration, have set up and honored a receptacle of the Three Jewels in the royal palace; and, neither abandoning nor putting it aside in a separate place, we shall treat it as an object of veneration.

47-52 In summary, in the royal palace and in the whole realm of Tibet no measure whatever will be taken which would lead to the loss or abandonment of the Three Jewels. According to the rule that the properties set aside for the Three Jewels are not to be reduced or destroyed, in the time of the forebears and their progeny, whoever it happens to be, they shall conduct affairs in accordance with what arises out of the primary exigencies (?) of the household registers of the religious communities. Hereafter, during each generation, the btsan-pos, fathers and sons, shall make vows to this effect.

52-57 Pursuant to that, in order that no violations of the oath shall be perpetrated or caused to come about, all the gods who have left this world and who are in this world and all the amānuṣa are invoked as witnesses. The btsan-po, ruler and ministers, all have sworn on their heads and avowed it. A detailed text confirming the decree has been placed in combination with the text of the decree written in the time of my father.

Notes to the Translation

4. Khri-srong-brtsan is an alternate form of Khri-srong-brtsan-sgam-po, name of a king (died 649).

8. Gling-gi Khri-rtse "Khri-rtse of Gling" is a place name. Gling is thought by Richardson (1973:15) to be identical with the place of that name in northeast Tibet where a small principality was founded in the middle ages (see Snellgrove and Richardson 1968:178; Stein 1972:77). Wang (1982:162, n. 5) locates Gling near Lhasa. The location of Khri-rtse is unknown. The THA state that Khri-'dus-srong was at Khri-rtse in 701 and 702 and at Gling in 703 (Bacot 1940-6:18-19; 39-40).

11. Kwa-cu, which is near Bsam-yas, is mentioned in the Second Edict of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (Tucci 1950:98, line 10) where it is spelled Kwa-chu. It is now the site of a small chapel and is called Ka-chu (Richardson 1973:15, n. 9). It is said to have been named in commemoration of the Tibetan victory over the Chinese at Kua-chou 瓜州 (kwa tśjəu) in modern Kan-su, known to the Tibetans as Kwa-cu, in 727 (Richardson loc. cit.; Wang 1982:162, n. 7).

Mching-phu may be a variant form for Mchims-phu (var. 'Ching-phu), the name of a cave-temple near Bsam-yas. For

discussion of the problem see Tucci (1950:69, 83-84, n. 124) and Richardson (1973:18).

16. Skar-cung (later spelled Skar-chung or 'Khar-chung) is mentioned in various WT histories, which differ regarding its location. Richardson (1949:46-47; 1973:17; 1985:72), Tucci (1950:14), and Wang (1982:160) agree that it must have been at the site of modern Ra-ma-sgang; and there seems to be no reason to doubt this.

30-31. Gces-spras ci-la yang "concerning whatever high regard". Richardson (1973:15; 1985:77) translates "to hold it in esteem for whatever purpose"; but we feel that this sense would call for a different syntactical arrangement, i.e. ci-la yang gces-spras... We take ci-la yang as attributive to gces-spras. For a similar construction, cf. I E. 35 chos-srid ci-la yang mkhas-shing gsal "he was skillful and wise in any matter concerning religious administration".

33. Kyis-kyang is taken as adversative.

35-36. Dge-ba'i bshes-nyen (= gnyen) corresponds to Skt. kalyāṇamitra "a 'friend of virtue', spiritual advisor".

38. Thar-pa = Skt. mokṣa "deliverance".

41. Chos-'khor = Skt. dharmacakra "the Wheel of the Law".

50. Mgo-nan is an unknown compound. Nan means "pressure, urgency". Perhaps mgo-nan means "main urgency", i.e. "primary urgency".

CHAPTER 12

TEXT X: THE BSAM-YAS BELL INSCRIPTION

Date of the Inscription: at or near the founding of Bsam-yas (suggested dates are 779 or 791)

Location: Bsam-yas

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: An (1982:5-6); Richardson (1954: 167-168; 1985:32-35); Tucci (1950:69, 108); Wang (1982:183-188)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: An (1982:plate 10): lines 2-3 (4); 8-9(10); (plate 12.1): lines 3 and 9; (plate 12.2): lines 4 and 10; (plate 12.3): lines 5 and 11; (plate 12.4): lines 6 and 12; (plate 12.5): lines 1 and 7; Tucci (1950: plate 5; 1973: plate 110): lines (2)-3 and (8)-9; Wang (1982: plate 20): lines 3-4 (partial) and 9-10 (partial); (plate 21): same as Tucci (1973: plate 110)

This inscription is found on a Chinese-style bell which hung in the hall of the central temple at Bsam-yas. Wang (1982:186) states that this bell is still in good condition. His photo (plate 20) and that of An (1982: plate 10) show it

standing on the ground in an open unpaved area of some sort. Wang's plate 21 (mislabled "the Khra-'brug Bell"), which shows the Bsam-yas bell suspended from a beam, appears to be a retouched reprint of Tucci's earlier photo (1973: plate 110).

The inscription runs in two lines of raised letters around the upper portion of the bell and is separated into six sections by raised ribs or straps. These ribs in effect divide the text into twelve segments. The inscription recounts the donation of the bell by Queen Rgyal-mo-brtsan, who was one of the consorts of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan. The date of the donation may have been at or shortly after the founding of Bsam-yas.

The text was first published and translated by Tucci (1950). A more accurate version was published and studied by Richardson (1954), who has reviewed the text more recently (1985). Wang's study of 1982 was followed in the same year by An's article on the Bsam-yas temple complex. An's work does not transcribe the text of the inscription but gives excellent photographs of most of it together with a translation (p. 5) which appears to be based on that of Wang.

Our reading of the text is based on the published photographs and divides the text into the twelve segments marked off by the rib-work on the bell.

Text X

Text of the Inscription

1. jo mo rgyal mo brtsan[1] yum
2. sras kyi̱s[2] phyogs bcu'i̱[3]
3. dkon mchog gsum la[4]
4. mchod pa'i̱[5] slad du cong
5. 'di bgyis te de'i bso
6. d[6] nams kyi̱[7] stobs kyis[8]
7. lha btsan po khri̱[9] srong lde
8. brtsan[10] yab sras stangs dbya
9. l[11] gsung dbyangs drug
10. cu[12] sgra dbyangs dang ldan te
11. bla na myed[13] pa'i̱[14] byang chub
12. du grub[15] par smond[16] to

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R 1:	Richardson (1954)
R 2:	Richardson (1985)
T:	Tucci (1950)
W:	Wang (1982)

1) T: btsan

2) T: kyis

3) T: bcu'i

4) T, W: ga la

5) T: pa'i

6) R 1, R 2, and T place bsod entirely in line 5. The photos of An (1982) show that Wang is correct in dividing it. However, Wang also places after -d a shad which is not visible in An's photo.

7) R 2, T: kyi

8) R 1, R 2, W: kyis

9) T: khri

10) T: btsan; W places brtsan in line 7.

11) T: dpyal. R 1 separates dbyal, placing -l in line 9. R 2 writes dbyal in line 8 but correctly notes (p. 33) that -l is in the next line in the original.

12) T: bcu'i; W: cu'i. R 2 places cu at the end of line 9.

Text X

13) T: med

14) T: pa'i

15) T: sgrub

16) T: smon

Translation

The queen, Rgyal-mo-brtsan, mother and son, made this bell in order to do honor to the Three Jewels of the ten directions. They pray that by the strength of its merit the god, btsan-po, Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, the father and son, the lord and lady, being possessed of the harmony of the sixty melodious sounds, will be perfected in the highest enlightenment.

Text X

Notes to the Translation

1. Rgyal-mo-brtsan was the name of a queen of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan. Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (ja 98b, lines 1-2) gives her name as 'Bro-bza' Khri Rgyal-mo-btsan and says that later she took holy orders, adopting the Buddhist name, Byang-chub-rje. For a number of variant forms of her secular and religious names, see Haarh (1969:57). She may be the Jo-mo Byang-chub who donated the Khra-'Brug Bell (see Text XI), and may also be the Huang-hou Mo-lu-shih 皇后没盧氏 "Queen from the 'Bro (mo-lu/muət luo:) Clan" encountered by Demiéville (1952:25) in Fonds Pelliot chinois no. 4646.

4. Cong is a loan for Chinese chung 鐘 (tśjwong) "bell".

8-9. Yab-sras stangs-dbyal "father and son, lord and lady". Bod-Rgya identifies a word stang-dpyal as an honorific expression for "husband and wife; a married couple". A compound stang-dbyal is listed by Snellgrove (1967:298) as meaning "husband and wife". Among his texts we find such interesting phrases as pho-mo stang-dbyal (p. 72, line 14) "male and female, the mated pair" and pho-rnams stang dang mo-rnams dbyal (p. 80, line 17) "the males, stang and the females, dbyal". Thus, though the etymologies of stang(s)

and dbyal ~ dpyal in these compounds are difficult to determine, we can be certain that the former referred to the male member of the pair and the latter to the female. Yab-sras stangs-dbyal occurs in various forms in Thomas (1951) where it is always part of formulaic wishes or felicitations in letters:

p. 186: stangs-dgyal (sic) yab-sras thugs rtag-du bde-bar smond-ching mchis

(Here dgyal may be an error for dbyal.)

"I pray that lord and lady, father and son, may always be happy."

p. 385: zhal myur-du [m]thong-ba dang ya[b]-sras stang-sbyal thugs [bde]-bar sm[o]nd-ching mchis

"I pray that I shall soon see your face and that father and son, lord and lady, may be happy."

p. 397: slan-cad kyang yab-sras stangs-byal thugs rtag-tu bde-ba'i zhal nye-bar mthong-bar smon-ching mchis

"I pray that hereafter I shall speedily see the ever-happy faces of father and son, lord and lady."

The entire final passage of our inscription is in fact a wish of this type, governed as in Thomas' texts by the verb smond.

9-10. The gsung-dbyangs drug-cu "sixty melodious voices" corresponds to the dbyangs-kyi yan-lag drug-(b)cu "the sixty qualities of the Buddha's voice" listed in Mvy. XX (nos. 445-504).

CHAPTER 13

TEXT XI: THE KHRA-'BRUG BELL INSCRIPTION

Date of the Inscription: reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (799 ?-815)

Location: Khra-'brug, in the Yarlung Valley

Present Condition: lost

Previous Studies: Richardson (1954:170-171; 1985:82-83); Wang (1982:189-193)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: none

This text was embossed on a bell which hung in the temple of Khra-'brug in the valley of the Yarlung River, some eleven kilometers south of its confluence with the Gtsang-po. Wang (1982:192) gives as coordinates 29.1° N and 91.7° E. He states that the bell was still in place as of 1965 but is now no longer extant. The inscription was first discussed by Tucci (1950:70) who summarized its contents but was unable to obtain a copy of the text. Richardson (1954) was the first to publish a reading. Wang examined the bell in 1960 and 1965 and includes a reading and translation in his compendium (1982). The most recent study is that of Richardson (1985).

The text, which dates from the reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, records the donation of the bell by Queen Byang-chub, who is generally thought to have been the same person as Queen Rgyal-mo-brtsan, donor of the Bsam-yas Bell. Two lines of text ran around the upper part of the bell; and, as is the case with Text X, they were divided into twelve segments by ribs on the surface of the bell. There is some disagreement on the order in which the segments are to be read. Wang (1982) begins in the second or bottom line with the segment tshal-gyi sku-yon dang (our no. 7) and reads to dge-ba-la bskul-ba'i phyir (our no. 9), whence he moves up and, beginning at dril chen-po...., reads the entire top line and the remainder of the bottom line. However, the very similarly arranged Bsam-yas Bell Inscription (Text X) suggests that one must begin with the top line and finish it before proceeding to the bottom line. Richardson (1954; 1985) begins on the top line at dril chen-po..., reads the top line through, and then proceeds to the bottom line, beginning with yon-bdag jo-mo byang-chub kyis (our no. 10). This has the unfortunate effect of yielding dge-ba-la bskul-ba'i phyir as the final phrase of the text, a syntactic and grammatical anomaly. Our version reads the top line from lha'i rnga.... and then enters the bottom line at tshal-gyi sku-yon dang. This reading is actually suggested by Richardson (1985:83) as an alternative which is "possibly preferable". In our opinion it is in fact the only way to read the top and bottom lines in that order and still obtain patterns normal to the grammar of the inscriptional texts.

Text XI

Our text version is based on the readings of Richardson and Wang. We number the segments as lines.

on

Text of the Inscription

1. lha'i rnga[1] sgra bar snang la
2. grag pa dang 'dra bar
3. dril chen po 'di yang lha
4. btsan po khri lde srong brtsan
5. gyi du - - snan 'grangs
6. pa bzhugs so sol
7. tshal gyi sku yon dang
8. sems can thams cad[2]
9. dge ba la bskul ba'i phyir
10. yon bdag jo mo byang chub kyis
11. bgyis[3] nas mkhen[4] pho rgya'i
12. dge slong rin cen[5] gyis blugs so

Text XI

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R 1:	Richardson (1954)
R 2:	Richardson (1985)
W:	Wang (1982)

1) R 1: rda

2) R 1, R 2: chad

3) W: bgyi̇s

4) W: mkhyen

5) W: chen. At p. 193, n. 4 Wang reads cen rather than chen.

Translation

1-6 In order that it be like a sound which resembles the roll of the drum of the gods, even this great bell, which has increased and is full.....of the god, btsan-po, Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, is (here) in place.

6-12 For the sake of the sought-after merit and in order to urge all sentient beings to be virtuous, the donor, Queen Byang-chub caused it (to be made), whereupon the abbot, the Chinese bhikṣu Rin-chen cast it.

Notes to the Translation

6-7. Sol-tshal-gyi sku-yon "the sought-after merit". Richardson (1954:171; 1985:83, n. 2) suggests that sol is a variant form of gsol. Perhaps sol-tshal is a synonym compound meaning "to seek; ...which is sought". Compounds of this sort are attested in later language; cf. Goldstein (1978:1206): gsol-stsal = gsol-ras "the act of giving".

10. Jo-mo Byang-chub "Queen Byang-chub" is mentioned in the Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (ja 116a, lines 6-7) as having been present at the famous debate at Bsam-yas, which Demiéville (1952:177) dated to ca. 792-794. As mentioned in the note to Text X. 1, she was probably the same person as 'Bro-bza' Khri Rgyal-mo-brtsan, a consort of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan, who later took Buddhist orders.

11. Richardson (1954:171; 1985:83, n. 3) takes mkhen-pho as a variant form of mkhan-po "abbot". Wang (1982:191) reads mkhyen-pho but does not translate the word at all.

12. Rin-cen would correspond to Chinese Ta-pao 大寶. This individual is not known from Chinese records.

CHAPTER 14

TEXT XII: THE YER-PA BELL INSCRIPTION

Date of the Inscription: undatable

Location: Brag-yer-pa, 24 kilometers northeast of Lhasa

Present Condition: destroyed

Previous Studies: Richardson (1954:166-167; 1985:144-147); Wang (1982:195-198)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: Harrer (1953:65): lines 4-(5)

This text was on a bell which once hung in a small shelter among a group of temples and shrines at Brag-yer-pa, a mountain about twenty-four kilometers northeast of Lhasa (cf. Wylie 1962:83; 159, n. 402). The map coordinates given by Wang (1982) are 29.7° N and 91.2° E. Wang adds that the bell has been destroyed.

The inscription was arranged in four panels which were to be read from right to left around the bell. The first three panels contained three lines in Tibetan script and the last had only one line. The text, according to Richardson (1985:144), is a well-known śloka from a work entitled 'Phags-pa bzang-po spyod-pa'i smon-lam rgyal-po, which was popular in Tibet in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Text XII

In addition to the Tibetan inscription there is a Sanskrit one in an early north Indian script. This is reproduced by Richardson (1985:146-147). The same formula, with certain minor differences, is given by Tucci (1973:115), who identifies it as a verse from the Prajñāpāramitā and translates: "Of all things that have an origin, of all of them, the Tathāgata, who speaks according to truth, has explained the origin and the end."

The text was first published by Richardson (1954). More recent studies are those of Wang (1982) and Richardson (1985).

Our version numbers each panel of the text as a line. We follow Harrer's photo for line 4 and the readings of Richardson and Wang for the remaining lines.

Text XII

Text of the Inscription

1. rgyal ba rnams kyi dam pa'i[1] chos 'dzin cing[2] / pyang
2. cub[3] spyod[4] pa kun tu snang bar byed / bzang po spyod pa
3. rnam[5] par sbyang ba yang // ma 'ongs bskal pa kun tu
4. spyad par bgyi

Text XII

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

R 1:	Richardson (1954)
R 2:	Richardson (1985)
W:	Wang (1982)

1) R 1: ba'i
2) W: 'dzin cing
3) W: byang chub
4) R 2: spyad
5) R 2: nam; Richardson's index (p. 169) reads <u>rnam</u> here.

Translation

Holding fast to the holy Law of the Victorious Ones and shedding brightness upon all deeds of enlightenment, we shall act so as to accomplish good deeds and complete purification in all kalpas yet to come.

Notes to the Translation

1. Rgyal-ba = Skt. jina "Victorious One", an epithet of the Buddha.

2. Rnam-par sbyang-ba "complete purification". Cf. Mvy. 5342 rnam-par sbyangs-pa which glosses Skt. viśuddha "purified, pure". Cf. also closely related rnam-par byang-ba, glossed by Bod-Rgya as "pure". This expression occurs in the Sino-Tibetan Glossary (Li 1961:249, no. 8-9) in the phrase [r]nam-par byang-ba'i phyogs, corresponding to Chinese ch'ing-ching 清淨 "pure".

CHAPTER 15

TEXT XIII: THE LHO-BRAG INSCRIPTIONS

Date of the Inscriptions: unknown

Location: area of Lho-brag Do-ba Rdzong

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Pa-sangs (1982)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: none

These inscriptions are found at two sites in the Lho-brag area. One is carved on a cliff face at the village of 'Dus-byung, five kilometers northwest of the administrative center of Lho-brag hsien, i.e. Lho-brag Do-ba Rdzong. The other appears on a cliff which is east of Do-ba Rdzong at the confluence of the Lho-brag nub-chu and the Sman-thang-chu.

According to Pa-sangs (1982) the inscriptions are identical in content. His transcription (1982, Tibetan version) and transliteration (1982, Chinese version) appear to be a conflation of the two original inscriptions. He does not comment on the number of lines or distribution of lacunae in the originals. His readings are based on eye copies; there are as yet no photographs or rubbings of the original inscriptions (Lo Ping-fen, personal communication).

Text XIII

The inscriptions briefly record grants to one Lde-sman Lde'u-cung for services rendered to the btsan-po and the realm. Lde'u-cung is apparently not known from other sources. Interestingly, one of the points granted in the text was that the upkeep of his tomb and the sacrifices to be performed there should be maintained at state expense. This is the only grant of this type in the inscriptional texts.

The versions of the text published by Pa-sangs contain numerous transcriptional and typographical errors and also differ from each other in certain ways. Our reading is a collation of the two, taking the transcribed version as "Text A" and the transliteration as "Text B". Since the number of lines in the original(s) is unknown, we follow the division in the printed text of Pa-sangs (Tibetan version). The emendations are our own and are explained, where necessary, in the translation notes.

Text of the Inscription

1. btsan po lha sras gyi[1] zha sngar[2] lde sman lde'u cung / glo ba nye nye[3] sku dang[4] chab srid la dphen pha'i[5] rje

2. blas dka' ba[6] byed byed[7] nas bkas[8] gnang ba lde'u cung gi pha[9] lo[10] snang[11] gi bu tsha pheld rgyud nam zhar srid

3. g-yung drung dang[12] mtshungs[13] pha dang[14] khol yul las stsogs[15] pha[16] myi (?)[17] dbri myi snyung ba dang[18] / lde'u cung gi[19]/ mchad gyi[20] /

4. rim gro bla nas mdzad de[21] nam cig[22] dbon sras[23] gang gi[24] ring la[25] ral yang / bla nas stong sdes btsig phar

5. gnang ngo lde'u cung gi[26] pha[27] lo snang gi[28] bu tsha pheld rgyud - phu[29] nu /nam/ cig[30] yang bka'[31] gyod /gyi/ gtsigs

6) shan / - - - - - - - -[36] dbu snyung gnang ba[34] dang[35] rkong kar[36] po lha btsan - - s - - - -

7. -[37] blon po dang[38] bu bzhi zhang lon gi bro bor ba'i[39] gtsigs gyi[40] sgreng bu ni phyag[41] sbal[42] du bzung ngo

Text XIII

Notes to the Text

Abbreviations:

A: Pa-sangs (1982) Transcription in the Tibetan article

B: Pa-sangs (1982) Transliteration in the Chinese article (containing no punctuation and no distinction between i and ɨ)

1) B: kyi

2) B: sngr

3) B: nyenye

4) A: sku dad; B: skudang. A in every case writes dang as dad, with -d written beneath da-.

5) B: ph'i

6) B: dka'ba

7) B: byedbyed

8) B: dkas

9) A: kha

10) B: lao

11) B: sngng

12) A: dad

13) B: mtshung

14) A: pha dad; B: phadang

15) A: rtsegs

16) A: pa

17) A: mya; B: myi. It is difficult to decide whether to restore myi or myi̱ here. From the appearance of A it is clear that the typesetters had difficulty with i̱ and had to set it by adding it in in some way. It is possible that A's mya here is a case where i̱ was inadvertently left out.

18) A: dad

19) B: cunggi

20) A: myi̱; B: gyi

21) A: mjed; B: mdzadde

22) B: jig

23) B: sros

24) B: gnggl

25) B: ringla

26) B: junggi

27) A: kha; B: ∅. Pha is restored in place of A's kha by comparison with line 2.

28) For lo snang gi B has nothing.

29) B:-

30) A: - - cig; B: - - jig

31) B: bkn

32) A: -; B: - -

33) B marks sixteen spaces for this lacuna.

34) B: ∅

35) A: dad

36) A: kor

37) B marks thirteen spaces and has no s.

Text XIII

38) A: dad

39) A: ∅; B: bhi. B's form is probably a misprint for <u>baḥi</u>.

40) B: kyi

41) B: phayg

42) B: sbl

Translation

1-2 That which was granted, upon Lde-sman Lde'u-cung's having been continuously loyal to the btsan-po, Son of the Gods, and having continuously performed beneficial and difficult service for our person and government:

2-5 As to the sons or male descendants of Lo-snang, the father of Lde'u-cung, their prerogatives, which are like the eternal g-yung-drung, and their landholdings, etc. shall not be decreased or diminished. And the sacrifices at the tomb of Lde'u-cung shall be handled by the authorities; and if ever in the time of any of the (grandsons:) descendants (the tomb) should be damaged, it will be rebuilt by the authorities, i.e. by the Thousand District. It is so granted.

5-6 The sons or male descendants ....clansmen of the father of Lde'u-cung ever.....determination of a sentence of punishment.....

6-7 The container (?) for the texts of the solemn oath.....which was granted and the sworn oath of Rkong Kar-po; the god, btsan-po.....ministers and the four sons, the zhang-lons, was held in the treasury.

Text XIII

Notes to the Translation

1. Lde-sman Lde'u-cung and his father, Lo-snang (line 2) do not seem to be otherwise known.

4. Btsig is a variant form of brtsig-pa, future of rtsig-pa "to build".

5. [Nam] cig is restored by comparison with nam-cig in line 4.

Bka'-gyod-[gyi] gtsigs can be emended by comparison with the similar expression in Text II N. 24-5.

6. Rkong Kar-po "Kar-po of Rkong" is the name of a noble house which figures prominently in Text IV.

7. Sgreng-bu seems to be unknown in the dictionaries. Texts IV and VIII and also the edicts of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan and Khri-lde-srong-brtsan (Tucci 1950:95, 98, 100) mention the placing of important documents in sgrom-bu "chests" for safekeeping. It seems probable that the sgreng-bu was also a container used for this purpose. Perhaps it is derived from the verb sgreng-ba "to raise, set up" (cf. Uray 1930:212-213).

CHAPTER 16

TEXT XIV: THE TUN-HUANG CAVE INSCRIPTION

Date of the Inscription: 834

Location: Tun-huang

Present Condition: extant

Previous Studies: Huang (1980)

Published Rubbings: none

Published Photographs: none

This bilingual inscription is found in Cave no. 365 (current Chinese numbering system) at Tun-huang. Its existence was first mentioned by Ma (1978:24; 33, n. 7) and the Tibetan text with translation was published by Huang (1980).

The inscription was discovered when a later painting of the Hsi-hsia period (1037-1227) crumbled, revealing what lay beneath it. The Tibetan text consists of three horizontal lines, in ink, on a yellow base measuring one meter by sixty centimeters. Beneath it is the Chinese text, in an unspecified number of vertical lines on a red base. The two texts form a "T" shape. Both were badly damaged by scraping, apparently when the surface was prepared to receive the later painting. The Chinese text is almost entirely effaced, but from its seventh line Ma (1978:24) quotes the following fragment: 當□念我□□□□洪謦墮在生死，系以

Text XIV

大縛 "Facing (or: at the time of).....thought upon us (or: our).....Hung-pien, they fell into saṃsāra, and were bound up by attachments". Hung-pien was a monk in Tun-huang during the mid-ninth century (see note to line 3 below). Huang (1980:47) states that more than two-thirds of the Tibetan text has been lost and that it does not contain Hung-pien's name. Curiously, however, his transcription of the text contains this name (Hong-pen in Tibetan) with no indication that it is emended. Instead, the name Hung Pien in the accompanying Chinese interlinear gloss and translation is bracketed, as if to mark an emendation. What Huang intends here seems unclear.

The inscription celebrates the founding and consecration of a chapel in Cave 365, apparently by Hung-pien himself. It is notable for its very precise dating of these events, i.e. 832 for the founding and 834-5 for the consecration. This dating has been discussed in detail by Uray (1984:350-351).

Huang's transcription has eight lines of text and does not demarcate the three lines of the original inscription. We have adopted Huang's divisions, and our reading follows his exactly.

Text of the Inscription

1. -// 'phrul gyi lha rtsan pho // khri gtsug lde brtsan
2. gyi sku r[i]ng la / // sku yon sems can thams
3. chad gyi bsam .....i.....i.....i hong pen / sgos gtsug
4. lag khang 'di chu p[h]o b[y]i ba['] i [lo']i dpy[i]d na gtsugs
5. te / shing pho stag gi l[o].....son rts[a n]a.....gyi
6. ston sla 'br[i]ng ba // sku gzugs spyan
7. phyed de // zhal bsros so //
8. tha tha dang sag shen....smon lam du gsol

Text XIV

Translation of the Text

1-7 In the time of the God of Supernatural Qualities, the rtsan-pho, Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan, his merit.....the thoughts of all sentient beings.....(Hong-pen) privately founded this chapel in the spring of the Male-Water-Rat year (832/833); and, in the middle month of autumn.....in the seeds and roots....the Male-Wood-Tiger year (834/835), the eyes of the (Buddha's) body were opened and the countenance was warmed.

8 Tha-tha and Sag-shen.....offered a prayer.

Notes to the Translation

1. Rtsan-pho is a variant of the common royal epithet, btsan-po.

3. Hong-pen is a transcription of Chinese Hung-pien 洪辯 (ɣung bjän:), name of a prominent monk of Tun-huang during the mid-ninth century, whose name occurs in a number of Tibetan and Chinese documents from the area (Demiéville 1950:250-251; 364-365; Li 1961:236-237; Stein 1981:250, n. 48).

4. Chu-p[h]o-b[y]i-ba['][i][lo'][i] dpy[i]d. This Male-Water-Rat year corresponds to the years 832/833 (Uray 1984: 351). Spring would have fallen in 832.

5. Shing-pho-stag-gi l[o]. This Male-Wood-Tiger year corresponds to 834/835 (Uray loc. cit.).

Son-rtsa "seeds and roots". Son here is mistakenly taken by Huang (1980:47-48) in the sense of son-pa "to do, reach". According to Bod-Rgya (p. 2963) son is also a fusion of sa-bon "seed". The same entry lists the compound son-rtsa in the expression son-rtsa 'debs-pa "to plant, do the planting". Our passage is too fragmentary to elucidate the use of son-rtsa here.

7. Zhal bsro-ba "to warm the countenance" is a standard euphemism for the consecration of a temple or shrine.

8. Tha-tha and Sag-shen are not otherwise known.

K

ka, see glan-, chad-

ka (仂口 gjâ), see Bran-ka

Kwa-cu -- name of the site of a small temple near Bsam-yas, also known as Kwa-chu and later spelled Ka-chu. IX 11

ka'u -- transcription of Chinese 皐 kao (kâu). I S. 21

kwag -- transcription of Chinese 郭 kuo (kwâk)

Kwag tshung -- 郭 鏦 (kwâk tshjwong), name of a Chinese official. I S. 39

k'ang -- transcription of Chinese 絳 chiang (kång). I S. 25

kwang -- transcription of Chinese 光 kuang (kuâng). I S. 20,26,30,37

kwang -- transcription of Chinese 廣 kuang (kwâng:)

Kwang-peng 'wang -- 廣平王 (kwâng: bjæng jwang), Prince Kuang-p'ing, succeeded to the throne in 762 and is generally known as Tai-tsung 代宗. The event referred to in Text II occurred in 763, when he was already Emperor (Tib. Rgya-rje) and no longer a prince. The title Rgya-rje Kwang-peng 'wang here is actually a mismomer. II S. 61-62

kan -- ?. II S. 65

kwan -- transcription of Chinese 關 kuan (kuân). II S. 64

kwan -- transcription of Chinese 觀 kuan (kuân). I E. 24

Kar-po -- name of a noble house; see Rkong Kar-po. IV 3,6, 12,14,15; XIII 6

Kar-po Rgyal-brtsan -- name of a person. IV 15

Kar-po Mang-po-rje -- name of a person. IV 3,14,15

kim -- transcription of Chinese 金 chin (kjəm). I S. 38

kim-ts'i kwang-log da'e-phu -- 金紫光祿大夫 (kjəm tsje: kwâng luk dâi- pju), a Chinese title. I S. 20

Kim-shing (~sheng) kong-co -- 金城公主 (kjəm źjäng kung tśju:), Princess Chin-ch'eng, the Chinese Princess married to the Tibetan king in 710. I E. 28; II S. 67-68

kun 俱 -- all. I W. 8,19, E. 15, 37; V 29; VI 54; VII W. 16,25,49; IX 27, 55; XII 2,3

kun -- transcription of Chinese 軍 chün (kjuən). I W. 42, S. 38

ke'u -- transcription of Chinese 校 chiao (kau-). I S. 24,30,37

keng -- transcription of Chinese 卿 ch'ing (khjæng). I S. 31; II S. 64

keng -- transcription of Chinese 京 ching (kjæng). I S. 47

keng-ce'u-yun -- 京兆尹 (kjæng ḍjäu: jiuen:), Prefect of the Capital. I S. 35

keng-shi -- 京師 (kjæng śi), the capital, i.e. Ch'ang-an, of the T'ang Dynasty. II S. 54,56,59,62, 63

keng-she'i -- the Chinese capital (genitive). I E. 57

keng -- transcription of Chinese 慶 ch'ing (khjɐng). I E. 59,62,66

keng -- transcription of Chinese 景 ching (kjɐng:)

keng-lung -- 景龍 (kjɐng: ljwong), era-name. I E. 27

ken (乾 gjän) -- part of a name; see Stag-bzher. I N. 35

kem -- transcription of Chinese 檢 chien (kjäm:)

kem-ke'u -- 檢校 (kjäm kau-) "acting...." (part of Chinese official titles). I S. 30,37

k'em -- transcription of Chinese 檢 chien (kjäm:)

k'em-ke'u = kem-ke'u. I S. 24

kong -- transcription of Chinese 工 kung (kung)

kong-bo -- 工部 (kung buo:), Board of Public Works. I S. 37

kong -- transcription of Chinese 公 kung (kung). I S. 36

kong-co -- 公主 (kung tśju:), princess. I E. 24, 28; II S. 67-8

kong (荼 kjwong) -- part of proper names; see Rgyal-Bzang, Snang-bzang. I N. 23; VII W. 33,37,42,46; E. 26

kor, variant of 'khor; see nang. II N. 15

kol = khol (?) -- servant. IV 8

kyang -- an emphatic particle, variously translated as 'even','also', etc.; see also 'ang, yang, gyang. I W. 39,53,64,69, E. 30,32,46,49,50; II E. 5, S. 28; IV 7, 9,16; V 6,25; VI 4,44,46,49,50,54; VII W. 18,19,23,30, 40,45,48,49,55,57, E. 9,19,26,(29),32,34,35,37,42; VIII 27; IX 33,35,37,50,54,55

kyam -- transcription of Chinese 兼 chien (kiem), to hold an office concurrently. I S. 31,35,38,40,42

kyi -- genitive particle; cf. gi, gyi. I W. 11,42,49,71,73, 74,76, E. 3,6,9,14,19,20,47,49,64, N. 4,14,18,20,22, S. 4; II E. 9; IV 1,6,7,10,20; V 6,31; VI 59; VII W. 1,16, 17,21,27,29,30,32,43,49,52,53,55,56,58,59,62; E. 26,36, 40,42,48; VIII 2,5,15,18,28,42,60; IX 5,19,24,27,30,34, 40,41,50,56; X 6; XII 1

kyis -- instrumental/agentive particle; cf. gis, gyis. I W. 46, E. 31,47,50,64; II E. 5; IV 7,16; V 3,9,33; VI 10, 11,17,53,55; VII W. 12,17,25,32,33,45, E. 3,8,11,42; IX 25,27,29,33,37,44,52,55; X 2,6; XI 10

kyur, see chang-

kyong -- quarrel (?). VI 32

klas-pa -- a verb whose meaning seems to be 'beyond, further than'; see mthas. V 23

klu (矩 立 kju: ljəp, 樓 ləu)

Klu-bzang myes-rma (矩立藏名摩 kju: ljəp dzâng- mjwəng muâ) -- name of a person. I N. 33

Klu-bzang lha-bo-brtsan ([矩]樓勃藏他[譜]贊 [kju:] ləu buət dzâng- thâ [phuo:] tsân-) -- name of a person. I N. 38

Klu-khong -- personal name, a short form of Stag-sgra Klu-khong. It is never used with the title blon, although the full name is so used. II S. 3,14,20,22,36-7,53,72

dka'(-ba) -- difficult. II E. 7, S. 41,73; XIII 2

dka'-dgu -- many difficulties (?). II E. 7-8

dkar-cag = dkar-chag -- register, list. VIII 40-1

dku -- cunning, trickery. VII E. 28

dku-sgyu 陰謀 -- craft, trick, strategem. I W. 69

dku-ba -- trickster, treacherous person. VII E. 30

dku'-ba -- variant of dku-ba -- trickster. VII E. 29-30

dku-rgyal -- probably a title of high rank, conferred together with a silver certificate. II N. 2,32

dkon-mcog -- variant of dkon-mchog -- jewel. III 3

dkon-mchog -- precious thing, jewel. VII W. 26

dkon-mchog gsum 三寶 -- the Three Jewels, Triratna or Ratnatraya, i.e. Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha. I W. 61-62; VIII 16-17; IX 6-7,9, 11-12, 14-15, 17, 23-24, 29, 45,47,49; X 3

dkor -- wealth, riches, treasure. VIII 28

dkor-gyi phyag-sbal 王庫 -- treasury. I W. 77

dkor-nor -- treasure. I E. 44

dkyil-'khor 壇 -- altar. I E. 60,63-64

dkyel -- broad, wide; see sgam-

bka -- variant of bka' -- word, order of a king

bka-khong -- probably same as bka'-khon -- grudge, resentment, anger. VI 40

bka-gyod = bka'-gyod, a form of gyod -- penalty, punishment. VII W. 43-44, E. 31

bka-gros = bka'-gros -- council; counsel, advice. VII W. 8,13

bka-drin = bka'-drin -- favor, grace, kindness. I E. 52-53; VII W. 22,23, E. 10

bka-nard -- continuance, prolongation of a legal proceeding (?). VII W. 39

bka-non -- variant of bka'non -- suppression (by the king). VII W. 35

bka' (伽 gjâ) -- word, order of a king; discussion; see also bka-. VI 8,23,51,54,55; VIII 59; IX 42

bka'-khon -- grudge, resentment, anger. I E. 40,43; VI 24

bka'-gyod -- a form of gyod -- penance, reprimand, punishment. II N. 24,25,63; XIII 5

bka'-gros 商議 -- council, Royal Council. I W. 22; II S. 23,39,43,55; VII E. 13

bka' chen-po-la gtogs-pa (or -te) 同平章事 -- to participate in the great discussions. I N. 7, S. 7, 10,12,14,17

bka'-drin 恩 -- grace, favor, kindness. I W. 18,55, E. 10,36; V 29-30,31; VI 50; VII W. 20-1,57, E. 7,8, 16,19,22; VIII 12,13

bka'-non -- suppression (by the king). II N. 57

bka'-phrin -- news, tidings. I E. 44

bka'-phrind -- variant of bka'-phrin. I W. 38

bka'-stsal -- say, order, decree, give by decree, appoint. I E. 17

bka'-stsald -- variant of bka'-stsal -- II E. 4-5, S. 28,58

bka'-zhal -- the mouth (of a king). VIII 24

bka'-la gtogs-pa (伽羅篤波 gjâ lâ tuok puâ) -- "one who participates in the discussions or in

state affairs", a supplementary title given to a minister of state, equivalent to the Chinese expression 同平章事 T'ung-p'ing chang-shih. I N. 5, 28, S. 5

bka'-la gtogs-par -- participating in state affairs (terminative). II S. 24-5

bka'-lung -- order. I E. 53-54; II E. 6; VI 9; VIII 8

bka'i phrin-blon 給事中 -- secretary-general. I N. 34

bkas -- by decree (instrumental/agentive). II N. 19; VII W. 2,23,57, E. 2,24; XIII 2

bka's = bkas -- by decree. IV 13,20,21; VIII 4,27,31, 34,39,46,66

bkur -- to honor, esteem. II N. 20; VII W. 34

bkur-sti'i -- honor, respect (genitive). I W. 48

bkyon (-ba) -- to rebuke, punish. II S. 20, N. 34,60

bkra-shis -- happiness. VIII 68

rkang-'gros -- domestic cattle. VIII 20

Rkong Kar-po -- name of a noble house, Kar-po of Rkong. In the THC this name is spelled Dkar-po. IV 2,14,18; XIII 6

rkyen -- basis; cause; underlying situation or circumstance; a requisite thing, means (of support), property. VII E. 6,10; VIII 18,38,40; IX 49

rkyen-ris -- the extent or bounds of property, estate (i.e. one's lawful interest in property). VIII 32

skad -- language, words; see also sgra-. IX 32

skabs -- time, occasion, case. VII W. 11

skabsu = skabs-su . VII W. 11

skar, see gza

Skar-cung -- name of a place, about 3.2 kilometers southwest of Lhasa. IX 16

sku -- body; life of a king. II S. 9,12; VI 52; VII W. 5,6, 37, E. 12; IX 34; XIII 1

sku-don -- intent, goal (respectful). I E. 48

sku-bla -- tutelary deity. IV 6

sku-tse rabs-re -- each generation. II N. 12-13

sku-tshe -- lifetime. I E. 42

sku-gzugs -- body (respectful). XIV 6

sku-yon -- merit, good quality, excellence (respectful). XI 7, XIV 2

-- gift (respectful). VIII 14,22

sku-yon-tan -- honorific for yon-tan -- excellence, good quality; achievements, accomplishments. V 8-9

sku-ring -- lifetime. IV 13,20; VII E. 12; VIII 5; XIV 2

sku-rim-gro -- honorific form of rim-gro -- honor, homage, reverence, respect; offerings, sacrificial ceremonies. IV 7

sku-srungs -- bodyguard of the king. II N. 41,45,48-49

skun-mkhar = sku-mkhar -- castle (respectful term). VIII 52

skyid 受安 -- happy, happiness; see also bde-. I W. 58

skyid-pa 受樂 -- happy, happiness. I W. 55,59; V 26; VI 19

Skyid-rtag 彝泰 -- era-name of a Tibetan king. I E. 58,62,65

skyes -- gift; see bla-. IV 18

skyes-pa -- perfective of skye-ba -- to be born, to grow. V 13

skyong -- to defend, protect, take care of. VI 49

skrag -- to fear, be terrified. II S. 47

brkyang -- future of rkyong-ba -- to extend, stretch, open out; release from constrictions, relax. I W. 54

bskar -- perhaps an old future of skar-ba -- to separate, set apart, exclude. IX 46

bskal-pa -- Skt. kalpa, an immense period of time. XII 3

bskul-ba -- perfective of skul-ba -- to exhort, admonish, induce. XI 9

bsko -- future of sko-ba -- to appoint, nominate, charge. IV 16; VII W. 61; IX 40,43

bskos -- perfective of sko-ba -- to appoint, nominate. IX 36

bskyung-ba -- future of skyung-ba -- to reduce, diminish; lay aside. II N. 26; III 9; VII W. 40

bskyed (-pa) -- perfect of skyed-pa -- to cause to grow; to widen, expand; cf. brnan-, bsnan-. IV 13; VII W. 58, E. 17,18,24,34,38,45

bskrungs-pa -- variant of bsgrungs-pa -- perfective of sgrung-ba -- to mix, invent, feign. VI 16

Kh

kha -- mouth. VII F. 3

kha, see mna'-

kha-cig 并 -- together. I W. 71-72

-- some; somebody, a certain one. VII W. 11

kha-chems -- last will, testament. IV 16

khwa = khwa-ba -- rent, tax. VIII 29

khag -- division, section, part. VI 43

khang -- house; see gtsug-lag-khang

khab (榼 khâp) -- palace, court, princely residence. I E. 25,28

khab-so -- treasury or tax agency; tax officials (i.e. staff of the khab-so). II E. 10

khab-so dpon-sna -- officials of the khab-so. IV 10

khab-so-'o-chog-gi bla (榼蘇戶屬劫羅 khâp suo ɣuo: tśjwok kjɐp lâ) -- commander of the khab-so. I N. 32

khams -- realm, territory. II S. 30,33,44; IX 47

kha'e -- transcription of Chinese 開 k'ai (khậi)

kha'e-'gwan -- 開元 (khậi ngjwɐn), era-name. I E. 26

khar, see ngo-

Khar-tsan -- a garrisoned city, probably the same as Khar-tsan Leng-cu, Chinese Ling-chou 靈州 , of the THA. II S. 26

khu-po, see myes-

kho-na -- just exactly, the very, the thing itself. I E. 33

khong -- the inside. V 24

khong -- heart, intentions, inner feelings. VI 14

khong (= khon ?), see bka-

khong, see also klu-

khong-ta -- they. II S. 19, N. 53

khod (窟 khuət) -- part of proper names; see Rgyal-bzher. I N. 19,26

khon, see bka'-

khol -- servant, vassal; see also kol.

khol-yul -- landholding, fief-land. II N. 29; VIII 36; XIII 3

khol -- (窟 khuət) -- part of a name, see Stag-zigs. I N. 37

khyab-pa -- penetrate, fill, embrace; see also rgya-. I W. 58, E. 36; V 32; VI 54

khyi, see Nya-, Sha-

khyim -- a house. IX 50

khyim-tshes 隣好 -- neighbor. I W. 23, E. 38

khyon, see sa-

khrag-khrug -- disorder, confusion. VII W. 13

khral -- tax, fixed duty, regular. IV 10,18; VIII 29

khri -- ten thousand. II S. 48

khri'i -- genetive of khri. I W. 56

khri (綺 khje:, 綺立 khje: ljəp)

Khri-'dus-srong -- name of a Tibetan king (r. 676-704). IX 7

Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan -- name of a Tibetan king, (r. 704-754). I E. 25-26; IX 10

also: Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan. II S. 1-2, 8-9

Khri-lde-srong-brtsan -- name of a Tibetan king (r. 799 ?-815); see also Lde-srong. I E. 34; VI 6,13; VII W. 1-2,E. 2; IX 1, 15-16; XI 4

Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan -- name of a Tibetan king (r.

815-836). I W. 13, E. 1,51; VIII 11,21; XIV 1

Khri-bzher lha-mthong (綺立熱貪通 khje: ljɐp ńźjät thậm thung) -- name of a person. I N. 20-21

Khri-sum-rje (綺心兒 khje: sjɐm ńźje) -- name of a person. I N. 10

Khri-srong-lde-brtsan -- name of a Tibetan king (r. 755-797). II S. 11,16,21,42, N. 5; IV 1,12; V 5,16-17; IX 12-13,23; X 7-8

Khri-srong-brtsan -- a short form for Khri-srong-brtsan-sgam-po, name of a Tibetan king (died 649). I E. 23; IX 4

Khri-rtse -- name of a place, location uncertain. IX 8

khrin -- legal proceedings ? (FKL); judgement, sentence ? (WSC). II N. 64; VII W. 39

khrims -- law. I E. 9,70

khrir, see rabs-

khrug, see khrag-

mkhar -- city, fortified town; see also skun-. II S. 45,62

mkhar -- house

mkhar-bu -- small house (diminutive). VII W. 27,53,58, E. 40,48

mkhas -- skillful, experienced, learned. I E. 35; II S. 29

mkhen-pho -- perhaps a variant for mkhan-po -- abbot. XI 11

mkhyen-pa -- to know, understand. I E. 51

'khod -- to sit, dwell. I W. 55

'khor -- circle, wheel; see dkyil-, chos-

'khras -- perhaps perfective of 'khra-ba -- to incline toward. II S. 68

'khrug-pa -- quarreling, tumult, disorder. VI 17; VII W. 16

'khrug-du -- in disorder (terminative). II S. 13

'khrugs-pa -- disorderly, disorganized (perhaps perfective of 'khrug-pa -- to be disturbed, in disorder). II S. 37

G

gang -- whoever, whichever. I W. 68; II N. 30,36,44,62; IV 16,17,19; VII W. 19,38,59; IX 49; XIII 4

gang, see chab-

-gam -- alternative and interrogative suffix; cf. -tam, -dam, -'am, -sam. IX 21

gar -- wherever (> whatsoever). II S. 43

gar, see also Rgya-

gi (去刃 kjɐp) -- genitive particle; cf. kyi, gyi. I W. 64, E. 10,13,21,22,27,31,33,59,63, N. 10,32,39, S. 6,9,11, 13,22,31,43; II N. 7,13,17,21,27,32,36,38,39,43,50,55, 58,66,67; IV 3,7,13,20; VI 5,15; VII W. 14,22,26,33,37, 42,46,55,57, E. 22,26; VIII 40,43; IX 7,8,42,49,50; XIII 2,3,4,5,7; XIV 5

gi -- transcription of Chinese 議 yi (ngje-). I S. 35

g'i -- transcription of Chinese 議 yi (ngje-). I S. 28

gis -- instrumental/agentive particle; cf. kyis, gyis. I W. 68, E. 48; II S. 3,14,37,53; N. 26,56; IV 9,10; VI 26; VII W. 37,38,40

gu-du = gud-du -- separately, aside, apart, in a separate place (terminative). IX 46

gudu = gud-du -- to a different _____, to some other _____ (terminative). II N. 49

gud -- separation, solitude

gud-na -- in a separate place, in another place, elsewhere. III 21; V 14-15

gun = kun -- all. III 19

gus-pa -- respect, reverence. I E. 17

ge, see yi

gen (砑 ngien) -- part of a proper name; see Rgyal-. I N. 40

go -- place, position. VII W. 5,6

go -- finite ending; cf. ngo, to, do, no, 'o, ro, so, etc; see also -'o-chog. I W. 77; II S. 49; VII W. 54, E. 49; IX 31,32,57

gong -- former, earlier; see snga-. VI 52

gong, see thugs-gong

gong (公 kung) -- see Dbyi-gong, Btsan-bzher. I N. 29; VII W. 55

gyang -- emphatic particle; cf. kyang, 'ang, yang. II N. 48 (?); III 13,17; IV 14; VIII 38

gyi -- genitive particle; cf. kyi, gi. I W. 1,2, (10), 12, 13,16,40,77, E. 1,5,8,14,16,21,22,24,25,29,34,42,43,45, 47,50,51,52,55, N. 2,24, S. 1,18,38; II S. 2,9,12,17, 21,25,43,53,55,59, N. 6,9,18,24,29,32,34,37,39,44,48, 51,56,61; III 1,4,5,16,20; IV 4,12,15,16,19; V 5,14, 16,17,18,20,21,33; VI 1,8,13,21,22,50,51,58; VII W. 1,2,5,16,20, E. 1,2,28,46; VIII 11,17,22,25,54,58,62; IX 1,4,7,9,10,12,13,15,16,17,22,23,24,29,42,45,49,54;

XI 5,7; XIII 1,3,(5),7; XIV 1,2,3,5

Gyim-po -- a proper name (?). VII F. 7

gyis -- imperative of bgyid-pa -- to do, make. VII W. 31, E. 44

gyis -- instrumental/agentive particle; cf. kyis, gis. I W. 8,18,71, E. 10,30,36; II S. 28,54,60, N. 21,53,59; III 11,19; V 13,24; VI 44,50,54; VII W. 22,28,35, E. 18,32, 41; VIII 24; IX 18; XI 12

gyur -- perfective of 'gyur-ba -- to change, become. I E. 28,48; VIII 36; IX 21

-- future of 'gyur-ba. VII E. 32

gyurd -- perfective of 'gyur-ba -- to become. I E. 50; II S. 19, N. 62; V 25; VII E. 11

gyes -- to issue forth, spread. VII F. 8

gyes -- perfective of 'gye-ba -- to be divided. IV 9

gyod -- guilt, penalty, punishment; see also bka'-. VII W. 39,40

gyod -- ?. VI 18

(gra)-ba -- ?. II S. 72

grag -- future of 'grag(s)-pa -- to sound; cry, shout. I W. 51

grag-pa -- noise; rumor, talk. XI 2

grangs -- number. IX 21

gri, see Nya-

grub(-pa) -- perfective of 'grub-pa -- to be finished, accomplished. I E. 46; X 12

gro, see rim-

grongs -- perfective of 'grong-ba -- to die. II S. 50

gros -- heed, care, caution

gros-gyis -- with caution. II S. 29

gros, see bka-, bka'-

glang -- ox. I E. 59

glan-ka = klan-ka -- censure, blame. II N. 60

Gling -- name of a place, location uncertain. IX 8

glo-ba

glo-ba nye -- to be loyal. II S. 4,20,22,40,72-73

glo-ba nye-nye -- continuative of glo-ba nye. XIII 1

glo-ba rings -- to be disloyal. II S. 7,15,18, N. 62

glo-ba ma-rings-na -- if he is not disloyal. II N. 22, 59

glo-bur-du -- suddenly. I W. 50-51

dgab-pa 覆 -- to cover, protect. I W. 18

dga' -- to be glad, willing. II N. 54

dgu -- nine. I E. 66

-- many. II E. 8,16

dgung -- heaven

dgung-du gshegs-so -- he went to heaven, he died (sc. the king). II S. 10

dgun -- winter. I E. 59

dge-ba -- happy; virtue, virtuous. XI 9

dge-ba'i bshes-nyen (= gnyen) -- kalyāṇamitra; friend of virtue, spiritual advisor. IX 35-36, 43

dge-slong -- monk, priest, bhikṣu. VII W. 22; VIII 17-18; IX 35; XI 12

dgongs-pa (-ba) 所思 -- to think, think of, intend. I W. 20, E. 39,55; VI 22; VII W. 21, E. 17

dgos 須 -- to be necessary. I W. 39; VII W. 59

dgyes(-pa) -- happy, rejoice. I W. 24,38, E. 17,29,32,39, 41,43; VII W. 7

dgra 寇敵,寇盜 -- enemy, foe; enmity. I W. 51, E. 11; II S. 37; VI 25

dgra-chos-kyi thabs -- martial measures, martial strategies. I E. 49

dgra-thabs -- warcraft. II S. 28-29

dgra-zun -- enemy. I E. 50

dgrar -- terminative of dgra. I W. 31

dgrar myi-'thab 不為寇敵 -- will not struggle like enemies. I W. 31-32

bgag-pa -- variant form of gegs-pa -- to hinder, close, stop. IX 38-39

bgyi -- future of bgyid-pa -- to make, do, act. III 7,9,14; IX 46,53; XII 4

bgyid -- to do, make, act; play the role of. IV 7

bgyis -- perfective of bgyid-pa -- to make, etc. IV 7; X 5; XI 11

mgo -- head; chief; source. I E. 7; II S. 55

mgo nag-po -- the black-headed ones, the Tibetans. II E. 14, S. 13

mgo-nan -- primary exigency (?). IX 50

mgon -- lord, master. VII F. 2

'ga', see bar

'gwan -- transcription of Chinese 元 yüan (ngjwɐn). I E. 26, S. 14,41

'gi -- transcription of Chinese 議 yi (ngje-); see also He'u-'gi. I S. 22,42

'gi'u -- transcription of Chinese 牛 niu (ngjəu)

'Gi'u Sing-zhu -- 牛僧孺 (ngjəu seng ńźju), name of a person. I S. 23

'gin -- transcription of Chinese 銀 yin (ngjen)

'gin-tsheng kwang-log da'i(da'e)-pu(p'u,ph'u) -- 銀青光祿大夫 (ngjen tshieng kwâng luk dâi- pju), a title. I S. 26,30,37

'gu -- transcription of Chinese 御 yu (ngjwo-). I E. 68

'gu-shi cung-shing -- 御史中丞 (ngjwo- ṣi: ṭjung źjəng), a title. I S. 22,42-43

'gu-shi da'e-p'u -- 御史大夫 (ngjwo- ṣi: dâi- pju), a title. I S. 35-36,40-41

'go -- transcription of Chinese 吾 wu (nguo). I S. 38

'gyur -- to change. I E. 12; VI 3

'gyur-bar -- to change (terminative). I W. 7,61

nam-zhar (yang) myi-'gyur-bar 永無渝替,永久不得移易 -- in order that it may never change. I W. 7,61;

'grangs-pa -- perfect of 'grang-ba -- to satiate. XI 5-6

'greng -- to stand; upright, a human being (as opposed to an animal). V 30

'greng-dud -- men and animals. V 30

'gros, see rkang-

rgan (幹 kân) -- part of a name; see Stag-zigs. I N. 37

rgya -- extent, size. II S. 43; VI 16,22,49; VIII 15

rgya-khyab -- everywhere, all over. VI 55

rgya -- seal; see also phyag-. VII W. 62

Rgya 漢,唐 -- China. I W. 26,42,44,59,68,71, E. 18,37, 57; II S. 31,32,48,50,60,61; VI 42; XI 11

Rgya chen-po 大唐 -- Great China. I W. 29, E. 58, 62,66, S. 1,4,18

Rgya-rje -- Chinese Emperor. I W. 3, (13), E. 1,21,23, 26,39,42,54; II S. 46,49,50,53-54,61,63

Rgya-yul 漢國 -- the land of China, Chinese territory. I W. 59, E. 57; II S. 53

Rgya'i 大唐 -- (genitive). I W. 3, E. 68; II S. 25,30,32,44

Rgya'i khams -- Chinese realm. II S. 30,32-33,44

Rgyar -- to China (terminative). VI 26

Rgyas -- (agentive). I W. 44, E. 60

Rgya-gar -- India. I E. 14

rgyar -- hundred (terminative); see also sum-. II N. 40

rgyal, see dku-

rgyal (結 kiet, 頰 kiep), I E. 5, N. 14

Rgyal-gen legs-tsan (結研歷贊 kiet ngien liek tsân-) -- name of a person. I N. 40

Rgyal-chen-'phrul -- name of the tomb of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan. VI 59

Rgyal-mo-brtsan -- name of a Tibetan queen, a consort of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan; known in later histories as 'Bro-bza' Khri Rgyal-mo-btsan or Khri Rgyal-mang-mo-btsan. X 1

Rgyal-brtsan -- short form for Kar-po Rgyal-brtsan, name of a person. IV 16

Rgyal-zigs Shu-theng -- name of a Tibetan general, who was also a Blon-che (Prime Minister). He was a zhang of the Mchims-rgyal clan. II S. 57

Rgyal-bzang 'dus-kong (頰藏弩悉恭 kiep dzâng nuo sjet kjwong) -- name of a person. I N. 22-23

Rgyal-bzher Khod-ne-brtsan (頰熱窟寧贊 kiep ńźjät khuət nieng tsân-) -- name of a person. I N. 26-27

rgyal-po 君 -- ruler, king, prince. I W. 1,3,73, E. 6,8, 13,15,19,37; II S. 51; IV 14,15; V 17; VI 24,45,54,56; VII W. 1, E. 1

rgyal-pho -- variant of rgyal-po. II S. 70

rgyal-phran -- kinglets, feudatory princes. VII W. 49, E. 36

rgyal-rabs -- generations of kings, royal generations. I E. 22

rgyal-sar -- throne (terminative). I E. 21

rgyal-ba -- jina, victorious one, an epithet of the Buddha. XII 1

rgyas (agentive), see phyag-

rgyas-pa -- to increase, spread, develop. VI 49

rgyud -- cord, string, line; see also bu-tsha. IV 14, 15, 16; V 21; VI 19; VII W. 32,55; IX 18,25,29

rgyud-du -- hereditarily, in succession. VII W. 42

rgyud-pheld, rgyud-'pheld, etc., see bu-tsha

rgyud-rabs -- line, lineage. IV 15

rgyun -- flow, stream, current. VIII 22

rgyun-du -- continually. I E. 45

rgyus -- notice, knowledge; see lo-

sgam(-po) -- deep, profound. II S. 42; VI 9,14,51

sgam-dkyel -- deep and broad, profound. I E. 35; V 18

sgo -- door, gate. IX 37,38

sgo-nas -- by means of. VI 48

sgor -- perhaps terminative of sgo -- door, gate. VII E. 27

sgor -- terminative of sgo -- cangue ? (FKL); terminative of sgo -- door, gate, sense of "party, person named in a legal action" ? (WSC). II N. 63

sgos -- individually, privately. XIV 3

sgyu -- artifice, trick, see dku-

sgra -- sound, voice; see also Stag-sgra

sgra-skad -- language. I W. 57

sgra-ba -- to sound, speak. XI 1

sgra-dbyangs -- pleasing tone, harmony, euphony. X 10

sgreng-bu -- a container of some sort (?). XIII 7

sgrom-bu -- a small box or chest. IV 11; VIII 62

brgyad -- eight. I E. 36,62; VI 23

bsgags -- perfective of sgog-pa -- to make one swear (an oath). VII W. 50, E. 37

bsgyur-ba -- future of sgyur-ba -- to change, modify; to correct. II N. 50; VII W. 31,47, E. 44

-- to control, cause to come about (causative future of 'gyur-ba -- happen, come about). III 14; IX 53

nga -- I. VII W. 4,10,14,15,23,48,57, E. 4,11,12,17,24,35

ngan -- bad. II N. 54

Ngan-lam -- a clan name. II S. 3,22,53, N. 47

ngu, see chu-

nge, see Ting-

nged -- we. IX 44

ngo -- finite verb ending; cf. go, to, do, 'o, so, etc.; see also -'o-chog. I W. 35, E. 60,64; II N. 11,17,20,27, 31,38,41,47,50,55,58,60,65; IV 14,17,21; VII W. 50,55, 58,62; VIII 31,34,39,46,67; IX 32; XIII 5,7

ngo-khar -- in front of, in the presence of. VII E. 30

ngogs -- mountain side, stream bank. II S. 59

dngul -- silver

dngul-gyi yi-ge -- silver certificate. II N. 9,34,37

mngan -- Custodian, an official in charge of fiscal affairs and revenue, who maintained records regarding property rights, economic activities, etc. VIII 44

mngan-pon (岸奔 ngân puən) -- Custodian General, head of the mngan. I N. 32

mnga' -- might, dominion, sway. VII W. 29,59, E. 41

mnga'-thang -- power, authority. VI 3,7

mnga'-bdag -- ruler. IX 35 (cf. also VI 27, Richardson's restored version)

mnga'-ba 管 -- to possess, have dominion over. I W. 27; V 28

mngon-ba -- conspicuous, visible, clear. VII W. 28, E. 38-39

rnga -- drum. XI 1

rngul -- to resort to, to exert oneself at, be bent upon (< to sweat over?). I E. 30,49

Rngegs (額 ngɐk) -- place or clan name. I N. 36

rngo-thog-pa -- to be capable. II N. 18,19,44

lnga-khri -- fifty thousand. II S. 48

snga, see zha

snga -- ancient, early, before. VII W. 19

snga-ldan-gyi gong -- probably = snga-gong -- former, earlier. VI 51-52

snga-ma -- earlier, former, aforesaid. IV 13; VII E. 5,33,44,47

snga-lugs -- former custom. I W. 41

sngar -- before, previously, formerly; first, at first (terminative). I W. 68; VII E. 18,20,25

sngon -- formerly, before. VII W. 20,56

bsngo -- future of sngo-ba -- to dedicate, devote. VIII 32

bsngos(-pa) -- perfective of sngo-ba -- to dedicate, devote. VII E. 31; VIII 14,34,41

C

cag -- transcription of Chinese 綽 ch'o (tśhjak). I S. 36

cag, see dkar-, bdag-

cang -- transcription of Chinese 長 ch'ang (ḍjang)

Cang-keng -- 長慶 (ḍjang khjɐng-), era-name. I E. 59,62,66

cad, see thams-, phan-, phyin-, man-, yan-, tshun-

can, see Zhang-lon, sems-

cab (帀 tsập). I N. 31 (The Chinese transcription corresponds rather to tsab, a reading suggested by Lo and others.)

ci -- what; any, whatever (interrogative and indefinite pronoun). I W. 17,69, E. 3,35; II N. 23,25; IV 10; V 11; VII W. 40,45,51; IX 30,32,36,48

ci-'dra-ba -- of what kind. I E. 3

cir -- terminative of ci. VII E. 32

cis -- by what, whereby (instrumental)

cis.....zhig -- by whatever means. IV 8

cig, see kha-, nam-

cing -- gerundive particle; see also zhing, shing. I W. 36, 55,69, E. 37; II S. 26, N. 16,26; IV 9; VI 17; VII W. 8,16,22, E. 5,13; IX 36,37,43; XII 1

-- during the course of (after time expressions). II S. 47

Ci'u-cir -- place name, 豉座 Chou-chih (ṭjəu ṭjet), a district west of Ch'ang-an. II S. 59

cu = bcu -- ten. X 10

cung, see Lde-sman

cung -- transcription of Chinese 中 chung (ṭjung). I S. 22,24,33,42,43

c'ung -- transcription of Chinese 中 chung (ṭjung). I S. 11

c'ung-da'i-p'u -- 中大夫 (ṭjung dâi-pju), a title. I S. 13

c'u[ng-shu zhi-lang] -- 中書侍郎 (ṭjung śjwo źï-lâng), Vice-President of the Department of the Imperial Secretariat. I S. 9,11

cub, see pyang-

ce, see zhal-

ceng -- transcription of Chinese 貞 cheng (ṭjäng)

Ceng-kwan -- 貞觀 (ṭjäng kuân), era-name. I E. 24

ce'u -- transcription of Chinese 兆 chao (ḍjäu). I S. 35

ces -- quotative particle; cf. zhe, zhes. IX 33

co -- transcription of Chinese 主 chu (tśju:); see kong

co'i -- genitive of co, see kim, kong

cog (屬 tśjwok)

Cog-ro (屬盧 tśjwok luo) -- clan name. I N. 28

cong -- bell; loan for Chinese 鐘 chung (tśjwong). X 4

gcad(-pa) -- future of gcod-pa -- to cut; punish, judge, condemn; close, lock (a door). VII W. 36-37; IX 37;

gcald -- to spread (?). II S. 36

gcig 如一 -- one, a, single; cf. cig, zhig. I W. 5,20,36, E. 2,22,24,27,39,42,55; II S. 47, N. 9,14,26,36,45; III 21; IV 17; V 14; VII W. 40,52,53, E. 47,49; VIII 45,57

gcugs -- feelings, disposition. I E. 43,47

gcung -- younger brother. IV 5; VII W. 7

gcen -- elder brother. IV 5,6,15; VII W. 7,10,48

gces-pa -- perfective of gce-ba -- to esteem, hold dear. I E. 44; VI 56

gces-spras -- love, esteem, high regard. IX 30

bca-ba -- future of 'cha'-ba -- to make, prepare. I E. 46; III 12; IX 25,52

bcad(-pa) -- perfective of gcod-pa -- to cut off; to apportion, set aside. II S. 32; VI 42; VIII 21,40; IX 49

bcas-pa 結立,設 -- perfective of 'cha'-ba -- to make, establish, found. I W. 6-7,60

bcas-so -- finite form. I W. 66

bcas-pa -- together with. VI 33

bcu -- ten. I E. 59; X 2

bcu-bzhi -- fourteen. I E. 67

bcug -- perfective of 'jug-pa -- to appoint. II S. 25

-- to compel, cause. II S. 49; VII W. 54, E. 49

bcom -- perfective of 'joms-pa -- to conquer. II S. 46

Bcoṁ-ldan-'da's = Bcom-ldan-'das -- the Bhagavān, an epithet of the Buddha. VIII 41-42; IX 40,41

bcos-pa -- to cure, remedy, fix up. VII W. 31,47, E. 44

mcog -- variant of mchog, see dkon-

lcags -- iron

lcags-mo-glang -- Female-Iron-Ox (calendrical term). I E. 59

Lcang-bu -- name of a place. VIII 2,15

Ch

cha -- part, portion

sde-cha -- part of a district (sde), a sub-district (?). II N. 49

cha -- thing, object, utensil; see lha-. VIII 19

cha-ga -- border. VI 29

chags -- to love, have a liking for. I E. 52

chags -- to be attached; attachment, an attached state, sway, control (?). IV 8

chags, see srog-

chang-kyur -- collectively, in aggregate (?); perhaps terminative of chang-khyu -- to assemble, gather; an assemblage or gathering. VII W. 41

chad -- perfective of 'chad-pa -- to be cut, cut off; see also rabs. II N. 28,33; IV (15), 16

-- to be punished, judged, condemned (here possibly a variant perfect of gcod-pa -- to cut; punish, judge, etc.). VII W. 35

chad, see thams-, phyin-, tshun-, slan-

chad-ka -- punitive levy, fine. VIII 29

chab -- control, sway, dominion. V 21; VI 51; XIII 1

chab-srid 社稷 -- government, state. I W. 4,36, E. 2,11,23-24,27,38,55, N. 8; II E. 10, S. 38,40,43,73; IV 7-8; V 13,22,23; VI 4,10,19,23,31,40,44,46; VII W. 5,10,14,15,17,29,37-38,49,59, E. 4,11,12,36; IX 34

chab-srid-kyi blon-po chen-po 宰相,宰相同平章事 -- great ministers of state. I N. 4,14,18,20,22, S. 4

[ch]ab-gang -- force of character, moral quality; courage, spirit; correct behavior, honesty, loyalty, integrity. I E. 30

chis -- administration, management; business, affairs; cf. also tshis. VIII 27; IX 51

chu -- water

chu-bo -- river. I E. 7

chu-pho-stag -- Male-Water-Tiger (calendrical term). I E. 63

chu-pho-byi-ba -- Male-Water-Rat (calendrical term). XIV 4

chu-mo-yos-bu -- Male-Water-Hare (calendrical term). I E. 66-67

chu-ngu = chung-ngu = chung-ba -- small, young. VII W. 5; IX 34

chu-srid -- authority, power, prerogatives. IV 9

chung -- small. II E. 12, S. 70; IX 33

chungs-pa -- perfective of chung-ba -- small. VII W. 57, E. 10

chud-pa -- to put into. VI 54

chud-chud-du -- putting in a great deal (intensive terminative of chud). IX 36

chub, see byang-

che(-ba) -- big, great; see also rlabs-po, phal(-po). I E. 11,30; II S. 23,32,43; V 4,23,24,28; VI 4,10-11,15,23

che-chung -- great and small. II E. 11-12, S. 70; IX 33

che-phra -- great and small, high and low. I N. 1, S. 1; VI 54,56; VII W. 49

che-bas -- since it was great (instrumental). I E. 20; II S. 43

cher -- greatly, even greater (terminative). VI 22,49; VIII 15; VII E. 16,25; VIII 12

cheg -- transcription of Chinese 刹 cha (tʂhɛk). I W. 43

chen-po (折逋 tśjät puo) 大 -- big, great; see also Rgyal-. I W. 1,3,6,17-18,21,25,29,30,37,59,73, E. 6,7, (9),13,18,35,45,48,53,56,57,58,61,62,65,66, N. 1,4,7,9, 11,24,36, S. 1,4,7,10,12,14,17,18; II E. 2-3, S. 6,38, 39,55,56,60, N. 9,37; V 11,19,32,34; VI 3,5,7,24,48; VII W. 15,17,20,41, E. 5,14,15,19,22, F. 5; VIII 13,26, 31,54; XI 3

chems, see kha-

ches, see thugs-, yid-

cho-gar -- way, method, order of procedure; rituals, religious ceremonies (terminative). IV 7

Cho-byi -- proper name (?). VII F. 5

chog (屬 tśjwok); see -'o-chog. I W. 57, E. 32, N. 10,32, 39

chos -- law, rule, dharma; custom, doctrine, religion; see also dgra-. I E. 20,49; III 5; V 2,8,29; VI 2,8,46,49; VII W. 23; VIII 6,7,8,10; IX 2,5,19,24,30,36,37,50; XII 1

chos-khrims -- religious law. I E. 9

chos-'khor -- dharmacakra, the Wheel of the Law. IX 41,42

chos-rgyal -- dharmarāja, religious king. V 11

chos-gtsigs -- a religious decree, a decree establishing the Buddhist religion. VIII 8

chos-gtsug-lag -- religious statecraft, religious wisdom, wisdom or statecraft based on eternal laws. V 2

chos bzang-po -- the Good Law, saddharma. V 29

chos-srid -- religious government or administration. I E. 35

mchad -- tomb, sepulchre. XIII 3

Mching-phu -- name of a place, perhaps near Bsam-yas. IX 11

Mchims (琛 ṭhjəm) -- clan name. I N. 26,30

Mchims-rgyal -- a clan name; a section of the Mchims clan (?). II S. 57

mchis-pa -- to be, exist, be there. II N. 16; III 21; IV 8, 10

mched -- brother, sister, sibling; children of the same parents. IV 6,9; VII W. 48, E. 36

mchog, see dkon-

mchod-pa -- to honor, make offerings or sacrifices to. IX 46; X 4

mchod-gnas -- a place for honoring, making offerings, sacrifices, etc.; an object of veneration; a priest. IX 44,46

'chang -- to hold, keep. VII W. 54, E. 49

'chang-'chang-ba -- continue to hold (reduplicative continuative). II N. 33

'chad-pa -- to be cut off. VIII 22

'chos, see yo-gal

J

ji-ltar -- how, in what manner. VII W. 51; VIII 33

ji-tsam -- whatever. II N. 19; VII W. 34

jeng -- transcription of Chinese 正 cheng (tśjäng-)

jeng-'gi(gi) da'i(da'e)-pu(p'u) -- 正議大夫 (tśjäng- ngje- dai- pju), a title. I S. 6,16,35

je'u -- transcription of Chinese 朝 ch'ao (ḍjäu)

[je]'u-'gi-lang -- 朝議郎 (ḍjäu ngje- lâng), a title. I S. 22,42

je'u-san-[lang] -- 朝散郎 (ḍjäu sân- lâng), a title. I S. 47

jo-mo -- queen. VII W. 48, E. 35; X 1; XI 10

mjal-dum 和 -- peace. I W. 5,(10),25,36-37, E. 2,3,40, 45,56

mjal-dum-gyi gtsigs 'dzin-pa 和好登壇立盟 -- the ones who conclude the peace treaty. I N. 1-2, S. 1-2

mjald -- to meet with, confer with. I E. 37

mjug -- hind part, lower end, end. VIII 26

'jal -- to pay, pay back. II S. 48,51

'jig-rten -- the physical world. III 14-15,16; V 28; IX 53, 53-54

'jig-rten-las 'das-pa -- to have left the world; one who has left the world. V 28, IX 53

'jig-rten-las 'da's-pa' -- variant of the preceding. III 14-15

'jig-rten-las 'das-pa'i chos bzang-po -- the good super-worldly Law. V 28-29

'jig-rten-gyi lha -- world-devas, gods of this world. III 16; IX 53-54

'jigs-pa -- afraid, fearful. I W. 53

rje (兒 ńźje) -- ruler, prince; see also Kar-po, khri-, thugs-, Rgya-. VI 6,16,58,59

rje-blon 君臣 -- ruler and ministers. II S. 47; III 19; IV 20; VII E. 20,41; IX 26-27,55

-- rulers and subjects. I W. 71

rjer -- ruler (terminative). IV 4; V 2; VI 2

rje-blas -- a title, perhaps of a high official (FKL); service, duty ? (WSC). II E. 7, S. 4, N. 18; IV 18; XIII 1-2

rjes -- the last, hind part, after. I E. 46; VII W. 10

rjes-'bangs -- follower and subject. VII W. 21

ljongs -- region, district; main valley, large valley. VI 17

brje-ba -- future of rje-ba -- to exchange, change. II N. 54

brjes -- perfective of rje-ba -- to change, shift

rta brjes 交馬 -- to change horses. I W. 43

brjod -- speech, sound, praise

brjod-du yod-pa'i 稱贊 -- that which will be (had:) held in praise (genitive). I W. 9-10

brjod(-pa) -- perfective and future of rjod-pa -- to say, pronounce, utter; to praise. V 9; VII F. 3

Ny

nya, see pho-

Nya-khyi -- name of a person. IV 5

Nya-gri Btsan-po -- name of a mythical king, usually written Nyag-khri Btsan-po in the THC and Gnya'-khri Btsan-po

in the traditional histories. IV 4

Nya-sto -- name of a person, short for Stag-bzang Nya-sto. VIII 9,12,33,35

nyan-pa -- to hear, listen to; heed, obey. I E. 18

nyam -- variant of nyams -- injured, hurt, damaged. VI 4

nyam-drod -- troubles ? (FKL); idea, intention, resolve, determination ? (WSC). II S. 25-26; VII W. 12

nyam-drod zin = nyams-drod 'dzin-pa -- to try out, sound out, take the measure of (?). VII W. 12

nyams-pa -- to injure; injured, hurt, spoiled, damaged; stained, tarnished. I E. 13; V 7

nyams-su blangs -- perfective of nyams-su len-pa -- to take to heart; to persevere or persist in performing; to practice, to experience. VIII 10

nyamsu blangs -- variant of the above. II E. 8

nyi-[shu] -- twenty. I E. 21

nyid -- self. VII W. 21, E. 7

nye -- to be near, close; to approach (see also glo-ba, snying-). II S. 12

nye-ba -- to be near. II N. 30,36

nye-'tshams -- relatives, kindred. IV 16

nye-zhing gnyen -- near and dear. I W. 47, E. 33,50

nye-ring -- far and/or near. II N. 54

nyen, see bshes-

nyes(-pa) -- crime, evil, to do evil. I W. 17,68-69; II N. 63; VII W. 36,38,39,40, E. 28

gnyan -- to heed, obey; cf. nyan. I E. 54

gnyan-po -- powerful, efficacious. IV 6

gnyi-zla 日月 -- sun and moon. I W. 57,63

gnyis 二,兩,並 -- two. I W. 4,15,42,49,68,71,74, E. 2, 3,23,(26),53,54,56,63, N. 8; II E. 9,12, S. 58; IV 5,6; V 31; VI 10,34; VII W. 18,19, E. 13,42,43

gnyen 親 relative, kinsman

gnyen rnying-pa'i sri-zhu ni..... -- for this passage the Chinese version has 再續慈親之情 "shall again continue the affections of loving relatives". I W. 22. Cf. gnyen brtsegs "strengthened the relationship" I E. 27, and gnyen rtseg-pa "to strengthen the relationship" I E. 38.

gnyen-ba'i -- to be intimate, dear (as a relative). I W. 47; E. 30

rnying-pa -- old. I W. 23,41, E. 40,47

snyan -- ear (of a king). II S. 17

snyan-pa 善 -- good. I W. 56

bka'-phrin snyan-pa -- good tidings. I W. 38-39, E. 44

snyand-par -- in the glory of (?). II S. 72

snying -- the heart, the mind

snying-nye -- loyal. VII W. 4,19-20,51,56, E. 21-22

snying-nye-nye -- continuative of snying-nye. VII W. 9,15-16, E. 15-16

snying-rings -- disloyal. VII W. 38

snyung-pa -- disagreeable, unhappy. II S. 52

snyung-ba -- reduce, diminish; see also dbu-snyung. XIII 3

snyoms -- equalize, arrange uniformly, manage justly. I E. 53; II E. 13

brnyes -- perfective of rnyed-pa -- to get, find. V 29; VIII 6

T

-ta -- pronominal suffix (?); see khong-. II S. 19, N. 53

Ta-zhig -- Arabs, the Arab-Persian Caliphate; same as Ta-chig of the THA. For other spellings in early texts, see Thomas 1963:23. V 20

Tang -- transcription of Chinese 唐 T'ang (dâng). I E. 21

tan, see yon-

-tam -- alternative and interrogative suffix; see also -dam, -'am, -sam. VII W. 35

tig -- transcription of Chinese 德 te (tək). I W. 14, E. 2,54

Ting-nge-'dzin -- name of a monk of the Myang clan. VII W. 3,4,12,24,50, E. 3,4,11,21

Ting-nge-'dzind -- variant of the above. VII W. 32,54-55

tu -- terminative particle; cf. du, ru, su. VI 25,37,47,48, 54; VII W. 25,41,44, E. 10,38,45; IX 2; XII 2,3

te -- gerundive particle; cf. ste, de. I W. 9,22,31,34,49, 64,72,76, E. 2,8,11,27,29,32,39,40,47,52,54,64, N. 7; II E. 9,13, S. 9,19,24,48,58,60,64,67,72, N. 52; III 18; IV 7,10,17,20; V 2; VI 8,44; VII W. 5,6,15,16,24, 28,50,52, E. 18,37,39,46; VIII 14; IX 27,54; X 5,10; XIV 5

te -- transcription of Chinese 帝 ti (tiei-); see hwang-. I W. 3, E. 2,23,26,40,54; II S. 47,50

teng -- transcription of Chinese 鼎 ting (tieng:). I S. 41

to -- finite verb ending; see also go, ngo, do, no, -'o, ro, so. V 34; X 12

gtang 放 -- future of gtong-ba -- to send, let loose; let go, abandon, renounce. I W. 35; III 6; VI 20; VIII 7; IX 25

gtan-gtsigs = gtan-tshigs -- argument, proposition, dialectics; here perhaps: evidence (before a court). II S. 15-16

gtam -- news, account. II S. 72 (?); V 14

gtam-dris 問事 -- having inquired into, investigated. I W. 34

gtogs(-pa) (篤 tuok) -- belong to, pertain to, be part of. I W. 70,75, N. 2,5,7,28, S. 2,5,7,10,12,14,17; II S. 24,30,33,45; VII E. 30

btags -- perfective of 'dogs-pa -- to bind, fasten, attach; to give a name. VIII 24; IX 42

btang -- perfective of gtong-ba -- to let go; abandon, renounce. IX 20,21

btab -- perfective of 'debs-pa -- strike, cast, throw; affix (a seal); pronounce or address (a prayer). I W. 74; VII W. 28,53,54,62, E. 40; VIII 15

btungs-pa -- to kill (perhaps actually a perfect of some other verb with this meaning). II S. 61

btul -- perfective of 'dul-ba -- to subdue, tame, conquer. I E. 11

rta -- horse. I W. 43

rta brjes 交馬 -- having changed horses. I W. 43

rtag, see skyid-

rtag-du -- always. II S. 47, N. 16; VI 28; IX 40

rten -- receptacle, holder, support; see also 'jig-. III 4; VII W. 26; VIII 17; IX 7,9,12,15,17,24,29,45

rtog -- to observe. II S. 26

lta, see de-

lta-bu -- like, like unto, seeming like. I E. 46

lta-bus -- by things like...; by such means as...(instrumental). VI 58

lta-zhig -- in particular. I E. 37-38; IV 9; VII W. 4

ltar -- like, as, in the manner of; see also da-, de-, 'di-, ji-. I E. 33

ltas -- prognostic omen, see rmyi-

stag (悉諾 sjet nâk) -- tiger; an element in names, see Brtan-bzher I E. 63, N. 30; XIV 5

Stag-sgra Klu-khong -- name of a minister of the Ngan-lam clan. Known to the Chinese as 馬重英 Ma Chung-ying. See also Klu-khong. II E. 1-2, S. 58, N. 1,7,31,35,38,43,66

Stag-bzher Hab-ken (悉諾熱合乾 sjet nâk ńźjät ɣập gjän), name of a person. I N. 34-35

Stag-zigs Rgan-khol (悉諾昔幹窟 sjet nâk sjäk kân khuət), name of a person. I N. 36-37

Stag-bzang Nya-sto -- name of a person; he was a zhang of the Tshes-pong clan. VIII 1

stang (悉 當 sjet tâng) -- part of a name. I N. 19

stangs-dbyal -- lord and lady, an honorific epithet for a married couple. X 8-9

stams -- perhaps = sdams, a form of sdom-pa bsdams -- to bind, tie up. VII W. 35,36

sti, see bkur

ste -- gerundive particle; cf. te, de; see also ste'. I W. 46,51,54,58, E. 19,21,36,50,55; II S. 20,32,44,46,47, 50,52,63, N. 7; IV 11; V 18,22; VI 4,18,23,28; VII W. 4,53,54,61,62, E. 10,16,35; VIII 4,16,24; IX 9,11,14, 17,21,32,36,42,45,49

steng -- surface, upper part, that which is above. VII E. 21,33,44

ste' -- variant of ste -- gerundive particle. II S. 62

sto, see Stag-bzang

stong -- Thousand(-district), short form for stong-sde, a military/administrative unit. VII E. 27

stong-sdes -- by the Thousand-district (agentive). XIII 4

stong-dpon -- commander of a Thousand-district. II N. 42,46

stongs -- assistance. I E. 31

Stod -- a reduced form of Stod-lungs, name of a valley. VIII 2

stod, see sbra

Stod-lungs -- name of the valley on the right bank of the Skyid-chu west of Lhasa; now spelled Stod-lung. VIII 15

ston -- autumn. XIV 6

stobs -- strength, vigor, force. VI 15; X 6

brtan(-ba) -- firm, steadfast, safe. VI 14; VII W. 25,46-47, E. 38; IX 2

brtan (旦 tân)

brtan-bzher Stag-cab (旦熱悉諾帀 tân- ńźjät sjet nâk tsập) I N. 30-31

brtan, see also gnas-

brtand -- variant of brtan -- steadfast. II S. 23

brtud-par -- perhaps same as btud-mar -- in rapid or close succession. VII W. 10

bstud -- to do successively, to continue. I E. 41

bstod -- future of stod-pa -- extol, promote, praise. II N. 20; VII W. 35, E. 25

Th

Tha-tha -- name of a person. XIV 8

tha-tshig 盟約 -- oath. I W. 64

tha'i -- transcription of Chinese 太 t'ai (thâi-)

tha'i-cung (c'ung) da'i (da'e)-pu -- 太中大夫 (thâi-tjung dâi- pu), a title. I S. 11,24,33

tha'i-shang-keng -- 太常卿 (thâi- źjang khjɐng), President of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. I S. 31

thag, see ma-, yang-

thang -- authority, rights (as enjoyed in a certain position), order; see also mnga'-. II N. 40; VII E. 28; VIII 31

thang -- see Byar-mo-thang

thab-mo = 'thab-mo -- battle. II S. 60

thabs -- rank, title. I E. 68, N. 3,5,24, S. 2,5,6,9, 11,13,16,18,21,22,25,27,28,31,36,38,41,43

thabs -- way, means; see also dgra-. VII W. 45, F. 3; IX 48

thams-cad 盡 -- all. I W. 28-30; III 17; VII E. 37; IX 54; XI 8

thams-chad -- variant of thams-cad. XIV 2-3

thar-pa = thar-ba -- to pass through; to be released, saved, delivered; mokṣa, deliverance. IX 38, 39

thild -- center, the principal part. II S. 53

thugs -- mind. II S. 23,42; V 27; VI 9,14,15,51; VII E. 17; IX 36

thugs-gong = thugs-dgongs -- thought, consideration (?). II N. 67-68

thugs-ches-pa -- respectful for yid-ches-pa -- to believe. VII W. 60

thugs-rje 矜愍之情 -- compassion. I W. 17

thugs snyung-ba -- to be unhappy. II S. 52

thugs-dam -- a vow, solemn promise, oath. VIII 25

thugs-nongs -- fault, crime, misunderstanding. I E. 32,47; VII W. 10

thugs-bag -- attention, care, concern. IV 10

thugs-bag mdzad -- to pay attention to, be concerned about, have the kindness to... IV 10

thugs-brel -- business, affair, concern. I E. 30

thugs-yi-dam -- a vow. I E. 33-34

thub -- able. VI 14

the'e -- transcription of Chinese 太 t'ai (thâi-)

the'e-tsong b'un-bu sheng hwang-te -- 太宗文武聖皇帝 (thâi- tsuong mjuən mju śjäng- ɣwâng tiei-), title of a T'ang emperor. I E. 23

thog -- during, throughout; see also ma-thog-la. VI 27

thog-pa, see rngo-thog-pa

thog-ma -- what is uppermost, foremost, etc.; at first, in the beginning. IV 3,6,9

thog-ma drangs -- perfective of thog-ma 'dren-pa -- to lead (an army). II S. 27

thogs -- to be impeded, checked; involved. VII W. 44

thogs, see phan

thong -- transcription of Chinese 通 t'ung (thung)

thong-g'i da'e-p'u -- 通議大夫 (thung ngje- dâi-pju), a title. I S. 28

thob -- get, obtain. I W. 56

mtha -- variant of mtha' -- border, boundary. IX 14

mtha-bzhi rgyal-po -- the kings of the four borders. I E. 37; VI 54

mtha' -- edge, border, boundary; margin; end, ending. VII W. 28, E. 39

mtha'-bzhi'i rgyal-po -- kings of the four borders. V 17

mthar -- to the end (terminative). VII W. 4

mthas -- instrumental of mtha'

mthas klas-pa -- beyond limits, to the farthest limits. V 23

mthun 叶 同 -- agree, harmonize. I W. 22, E. 39,52,55

mtho -- high, lifty. I E. 7; IV 8

mthong (通 thung), I N. 21

'thab -- to struggle, fight. I W. 32, E. 20

'thun-pa -- variant of mthun-pa -- to agree, harmonize. V 8; VI 7; VII W. 7

D

da 今 -- now, at present. I W. 36; VI 27; IX 22,51

da-ltar 見 -- now (terminative). I W. 26-27; IV 19

dag -- plural and dual suffix. I E. 30,31,32,49; III 13; IV 10; VI 44; VII W. 11; IX 53

dag-pa -- actual; see yang-. II N. 62; VII W. 36

dang 與 -- and, with, together with. I W. 2,27,44,45,48, 51,62,63, E. 1,3,14,16,19,20,23,26,31,37,40,44,49,52, 54,69, N. 3,5,24, S. 3,5,18; II E. 3,6,11, S. 5,15,18, 34,35,45,57,60,67, N. 29,36,40,54,67; III 1,4,15,16,18, 19; IV 1,3,5,6,8,9,16,18,19; V 1,8,12,18,19; VI 7,8,9, 10,14,17,19,30,33; VII W. 9,11,20,22,25,29,31,34,35,36, 37,40,41,42,48,49,51,56,62, E. 6,12,14,15,27,28,29,30, 31,36,40,43,47, F. 5,6; VIII 8,19,20,28,29,41,44,45,56; IX 7,10,11,12,15,24,27,31,42,47,48,53,54,55; X 10; XI 2,7; XIII 1,3,6,7; XIV 8

dang-po -- the first, at first. I E. 21,59; IV 9

dang-bo -- meaning unclear. II S. 64-65

dad-pa -- to believe, be faithful. IX 39

dam, see thugs-, yi-

-dam -- alternative and interrogative suffix; see also -gam, -tam, -'am, -sam. II N. 34; VII W. 43

dam-pa -- holy, noble. VI 46,48,49; VIII 6,7,10; IX 2; XII 1

dam-pa'i chos -- the Holy Law (Skt. saddharma). VI 46, 49; VIII 6,7,10; IX 2; XII 1

da' -- now at present. III 9

da'i -- transcription of Chinese 大 ta (dâi-). I S. 13,16, 24,26,30,33

da'i tsang-kun -- 大將軍 (dâi- tsjang kjwən), Grand General. I S. 38

da'e -- transcription of Chinese 大 ta (dâi-). I S. 6,9, 11,20,28,35,36,37,40

dar -- silk. II S. 48

dard -- perfective of 'dor-ba, as in srog 'dor-ba -- to endanger life, deprive of life (FKL); perfective of 'dar-ba -- to spread (WSC). II S. 9,12

du -- terminative particle; cf. tu, ru, su; see also rtag-, bar-, tsam-. I W. 5,43,45,48,51,56,57,63,67,69,76,77, E. 2,22,24,25,27,28,30,36,39,40,43,45,48,49,50,57,61; II S. 10,12,17,28,44,47,48,49,52, N. (3), 11,15,16,19, 37,42,46,56; III 6,17; IV 4,8,10; V 4,21,25,30; VI 5,6, 11,17,21,23,24,25,28,32,35,40,41,44,52; VII W. 3,5,25, 34,50,52,54, E. 7,21,24,28,30(?),33,34,41,45,46,49, F. 2,3; VIII 14,31,36,39,65; IX 19,20,28,36,37,40,43,44, 46,51,52,54; X 4,12; XIII 7; XIV 8

dud -- perfective of 'dud-pa -- to bend down, stoop; stooping one, animal, quadruped. V 30

dud, see phu-

dud-rdul 煙塵 -- smoke and dust. I W. 50

dum, see mjal

de, see ban

de, de'i -- that, of that (far demonstrative). I W. 28,31, E. 13,41; III 8,12; IV 11; VII E. 21,34; VIII 45,55; IX 32,39,52; X 5

de-lta -- like that. VI 15

de-ltar -- so, in that way. V 23,30; IX 33

de-par -- in that way (?) (Waddell reads bde-bar, Wang reads de-bar.). II N. 67

de'i og-du -- after that, thereafter. II S. 49

de -- gerundive particle; cf. te, ste. I W. 6,26,65, E. 17, 44; II S. 29, N. 68; V 32; VII W. 58, E. 24,25,34,38, 45; VIII 21; IX 5,39; XIII 4; XIV 7

De-mo -- name of a goddess. IV 6

deng-sang -- today and tomorrow, the present day. IV 9

de'e -- transcription of Chinese 大 ta (dâi-)

de'e tang -- 大唐 (dâi- dâng) -- the Great T'ang dynasty. I E. 21

do -- finite verb ending; see also go, ngo, to, no, 'o, ro, lo, so. V 15; VI 18; VII W. 17,19; VIII 22; IX 28,33, 48,51

do -- transcription of Chinese 杜 tu (duo:)

Do Tse'e -- 杜載 (duo: tsâi-), name of a person. I E. 69

do'a-dag -- the two of them (an ancient dual form ?). I E. 31

d'o -- transcription of Chinese 杜 tu (duo:)

D'o 'Gwan-yweng -- 杜元穎 (duo: ngjwɐn jiwäng:), name of a person. I S. 14-15

dogs -- to fear, be afraid. I W. 53

dogs-shing 'jigs-pa 驚恐 -- to fear and be alarmed. I W. 53

dogs-phrig -- fear, suspicion. I E. 48

Dong-kwan -- 潼關 (dung kuân) name of a famous mountain pass, the T'ung-kuan. II S. 64

dod -- come out, come forth, originate. I E. 5

don -- intent, purpose. I W. 21, E. 48

dor-ba -- future of 'dor-ba -- to throw or cast away; despise, reject. VII E. 30

dra[ng] -- straight, righteous, sincere. II E. 12

drang-ba -- future of 'dren-pa -- to pull, draw, lead (an army). I W. 32; II S. 54-55,56

drangs -- perfective of 'dren-pa -- to pull, draw, lead. II S. 27,59; VI 26

Dri-gum Btsan-po -- name of a mythical king; sometimes written Gri-gum Btsan-po in later histories. IV 4,5

drin, see bka'-, bka-

dril -- bell. XI 3

dris -- perfective of 'dri-ba -- to ask. I W. 34

Dru-gu -- name of a Turkic tribe or tribes; see also Drug. VI 39

Drug -- variant of Dru-gu. I E. 14

drug -- six; see also Ya-bla-bdag-. I E. 63; X 9

drung -- near, before

drung-du -- near, before (terminative). I E. 57; VII E. 41

drung-po -- wise, sensible, judicious. VII W. 6

drung, see g-yung-

drod, see nyam-

gdags(-pa) -- future of 'dogs-pa -- fix, attach, involve; charge a person with a fault. II N. 64; VII W. 39, E. 31; VIII 26

gdung-rabs -- generation. I E. 42; III 10; IV 4; VII W. 32; VIII 6; IX 18,25,29,51

gdod = gdod-ma -- the beginning. VII W. 4

gdon -- demon, fiend. VII W. 11

bdag -- master; see also mnga'-, ya-bla-, yon-, gtsigs-.

bdag bgyid -- to act as master, be in control. IV 7

bdag -- self. II N. 53; IV 7

bdag-cag -- we. IV 8-9

bdagi = bdag gi. IV 7

bdun -- seven. I E. 58; IV 4

bde-ba -- happy; well-suited, well-qualified. IV 10; V 26; VII W. 17,25,41,46, E. 15,27

bde-skyid -- happy. IV 9

bde-skyid-par (pa'i) 安泰 -- happy. I W. 19-20, E. 56

bde-bar 安 -- happy. I W. 54-55

bden-ba -- to be true. II S. 19

Mda'-myi -- proper name (?). VII F. 6

mdo 節目 -- main points, essentials, summary; major or essential thing. I W. 11, E. 45,65; II N. 3; VI 11; VII W. 27, E. 15

mdor-na -- in summary, in brief, in short. IX 47

mdor-na' = mdor-na. II N. 66

mdo' = mdo -- main points. VII E. 39

'das-pa -- perfective of 'da'-ba -- to pass beyond, transcend; see also Bcom-, 'jig-rten. V 28; IX 53

'da's-pa = 'das-pa -- perfective of 'da'-ba -- to pass beyond, transcend. III 15

'di 此 -- this. I W. 37,60,67, E. 65; III 5,11; VI 44,59; VII W. 26,47,53,58,61, E. 48, F. 4; VIII 23,32,38,46, 64; IX 19,30,52; X 5; XI 3; XIV 4

'di-ltar 此 -- so, in this way. I W. 37,71, E. 33; IV 8; VII W. 19; IX 19,28

'du -- to come together, assemble. V 21

'dug-pa -- dwell, sit, remain, exist. I E. 18; VI 29

'dun-sa -- meeting place, assembly. VIII 42

'dum-bar -- to make peace with (terminative). I E. 37

'dus (努悉 nuo sjet) -- a part of proper names; see Rgyal-bzang, Snang-bzang.

'dong-ba -- to go, proceed. I W. 40

'don -- cause to go forth, send forth. VII E. 4

'don-'dond -- continuative of 'don. VII W. 15

'dra(-ba) -- similar, equal, like unto. I E. 3,19; IV 8,9; V 18; VII W. 56,57; VIII 45,56; XI 2

'dra-bar -- in accordance with (terminative). II E. 6-7

'drang-ba = drang-ba -- future of 'dren-pa -- to lead (?). II N. 45

'drang-ba = drang-ba -- sincere, honest, upright. VII W. 60

'dri-ba -- to ask

'dri-ba'i spyan -- supervisor. I E. 68

'drul 通傳 -- transmit, communicate. I W. 39, E. 45

rdul, see dud

rdo -- stone. VI 33; VII W. 28

rdo-rings 碑 -- long stone, pillar, stele, usually with an inscription on it. I W. 11, E. 4,65,67,68, 70; II N. 3; V 10; VI 12; VII W. 27,31, E. 39,43; VIII 3; IX 28

ldan -- to have, be possessed of; see also Snga-, Bcom-. VI 51; X 10

lde -- a part of certain royal names. I W. 13, E. 1,5, 25,34,51

Lde-sman Lde'u-cung -- name of a person. XIII 1

Lde-srong -- a form of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan, name of a Tibetan king. IV 1,13,20

Lde'u-cung -- short form for Lde-sman Lde'u-cung -- name of a person. XIII 2,3,5

Ldong-tsab -- name of a minister of the 'Bal clan, liquidated ca. 755. II S. 5

sdang-ba -- anger, hatred, enmity. I W. 51

sdig -- to threaten (to do). I W. 69

sdig-pa -- sin, wickedness; to be sinful or wicked. IX 21, 31

sde -- district. II N. 48; VII W. 42

sde-cha -- part of a district, subdistrict (?). II N. 49

sdom -- to bind, fasten. I E. 15

sdor = sdo -- to defy, behave with insolence, bid defiance. VI 25

bsdus -- perfective of sdud-pa -- gather together, unite. II S. 31,46

N

na -- locative particle. I W. 50,54,58,59, (E. 18); II N. 10,15,26,33,51; III 21; IV 5,8; V 15; VI 39; VII E. 23; VIII 35,53; IX 45,47; X 11; XIV 4,5

-- if. I W. 34,68; II N. 22,26,28,34,54,57,59,62; IV (15),16; VII W. 35,36,38,40,44,56,59, E. 29; VIII 36; IX 20,21

-- in the case of (= in spite of). I E. 32,45; VII E. 17

-- inasmuch as, while. I E. 33,37; IV 8,10

-- in the case where, when. VI 16

na, see kho-

nag-po -- black. II E. 14, S. 13

nang -- inside, interior; see also phyi-. I E. 10; II E. 9, N. 61; IV 16; V 25; VI 10,17,(21); IX 39

nang-kor = nang-'khor -- domestic attendants or officers. II N. 15

nang-blon -- Minister of the Interior, a title used to translate the office of 苗晉卿 Miao Chin-ch'ing, who was at that time President of the Imperial

Chancellery 侍中 in the Chinese government. Thus, nang-blon indicates a Tibetan office somewhat equivalent to the position of President of the Imperial Chancellery in China; see also 'Bye'u. I N. 26; II S. 63-64

nang-blon bka'-la gtogs-pa -- Interior Minister Participating in State Affairs; cf. Li 1956a:72, note 4. II S. 24-25

nang-blon chen-po -- the Great Minister of the Interior, transcribed by the Chinese as 囊論掣逋 nang-lun ch'e-pu (nâng luən-tshjät puo), and translated as 內大相 nei-ta-hsiang; cf. HTS 216a. II E. 2-3

nan -- pressure, urgency, see mgo-

nam-cig -- ever, always. XIII 4,(5)

nam-du'ang -- always. IV 10

nam-du-yang -- never (+ negated verb). III 6; VI 11; IX 19, 37

nam-zhar 永,永久 -- always, forever. I W. 7,61, E. 12; II N. 48; IV 14; V 25-26; VI 3,18; VII W. 43, E. 34; XIII 2

nan-nam-zha-zhar -- reduplicative intensive of nam-zhar. II N. 8; VII W. 30,32,46,47, E. 42; IX 22

nam-zhig -- forever, for all time. V 10; VII W. 58

nam-zhig-na -- whenever it should transpire that, in future. VIII 35

nams, see bsod-

na', see mdo. II N. 66

nar-du = nar-nar-du -- continually. VI 28 (Richardson's restored version)

nard -- variant form of nar -- continuation, prolongation (?); see bka-

nas -- barley. II S. 35; IV 19

nas -- a past participle particle. I W. 5,25,35,41,60,66, 73, E. 21,24,27,28,30,39,41,49,56,60; II S. 8,17,23,25, 35,46,51,55,59,61,63, N. 61; IV 9,11; V 29; VI 24,26, 40; VII W. 12,14,27,28,48,57, E. 8,12,20,37,40, F. 2; VIII 6,15,18; XI 11; XIII 2

-- from (inside). I E. 35,51; II S. 62, N. 6,58,61; IV 16; V 6,17,25; VI 14,48,(51),57; VII W. 4,5,35; VIII 27; IX 39,42

ni -- emphatic or pause particle. I W. 16,18,20,23,25,28, 30,44,46,50,51,56.57.74.76, E. 7,9,10,11,12,13,14,35, 36,40,41,42,43,45,51,52,55,57,58,61; II S. 12,13,19; III 21; IV 5,6; V 2,3,7,8,14,19,20,22; VI 3,4,5,7,8; VII W. 52,53, E. 17,45, F. 3; VIII 41,43,45,51,57,63; IX 56; XIII 7

nu, nu-po, see pu-, phu-

nub -- east. V 22

nub-phyogs 已西 -- the west side, the west. I W. 29, E. 14,57

nus-pa -- to be able, capable of. VII W. 34; IX 40

ne (宁 nieng) -- part of proper names; see Rgyal-bzher. I N. 19,26

-no -- finite verb ending; cf. -to, -do, -'o, -so. V 30

nongs-myig -- fault (?). II N. 22-23

nongs, see thugs-

nod-pa -- to receive. VII W. 22, E. 8

non -- to suppress; see bka'-. II N. 57; VII W. 35

nor -- property, possession; see also dkor-. II N. 29

nor-pyugs -- livestock. II N. 29

nor-rdzas -- valuable thing, treasure. VIII 19

gnang(-ba) -- to give, grant, bestow, confer. II N. 2,6,11, 17,20,27,31,38,41,47,49,50,55,58,60,64; IV 10,11,12,14, 17,20,21; VII W. 3,25,42,45,47,48,50,51,55,58,62, E. 4, 6,7,18,20,21,24,25,28,31,32-3,34,35,38,45; VIII 4,28, 31,34,39,46,50,66; IX 44; XIII 2,5,6

-- to appoint. IV 8,9

gnang-ba' (-b'a) -- variant of gnang-ba. IV 2,8,13

gnango = gnang-ngo -- finite form of gnang-ba. II N. 31; VIII 34

gnam -- sky, heaven. I E. 8; IV 8; V 7; VI 1,8; VII W. 1, F. 3,5

gnas -- place; see mchod-

gnas-brtan -- sthavira, elder, senior monk. VIII 44

gnas(-pa) -- to remain, dwell, stay. V 26; VIII 18

gnod-pa -- harm, damage, mischief. I E. 29; VII E. 29

mnangs -- rule, control, dominion (?); cf. VI 42, Richardson's restored version. II S. 31

mna' 盟 誓 -- oath. I W. 65

mna'-kha -- oath. III 13; IX 52

mna' bor-te 立 誓 -- having sworn the oath. I W. 72

mna' yang bor-nas 為 盟 -- the oath having been sworn. I W. 65-66

mnas -- by oath (instrumental). VII W. 50, E. 37

mnar -- suffer, be tormented. VII W. 35

rnam -- part, piece, item (used as a measure in counting). VII E. 42,43; VIII 56

rnam-par -- entirely, perfectly, thoroughly. XII 3

rnams(-pa) 諸 -- plural particle. I W. 62,64,75; II N. 19,39; VII W. 29,49, E. 26,27,34,36,42; IX 39,41,44,49; XII 1

sna -- sort, kind, type; see also dpon-, las-. IV 10

snang -- appearance; see also Lo-. I E. 32

snang(-ba) -- emit light, bright, clear; to be seen, appear; to resemble, look like; an appearance. I W. 50, E. 32; XI 1; XII 2

Snang-bzang 'Dus-kong -- name of a person, grandfather of the monk, Myang Ting-nge-'dzin. VII W. 33,37,42,46, E. 25-26

-snan -- perhaps a damaged form of bsnan, perfect or future of snon-pa -- to add, increase. XI 5

snam (悉南 sjet nậm)

snam-phyi-pa (悉南毗波 sjet nậm phi puâ) -- a title. I N. 30

brnan(-pa) -- to look upon attentively or sharply; to be attentive to; to make certain of; to clearly indicate, settle, decide upon, confirm. VII E. 37; IX 3

brnan -- variant of bsnan, perfect of snon-pa -- to add, increase, augment. VII W. 58

brnan-bskyed -- variant of bsnan-bskyed -- add onto, increase. VII W. 58

brnand-pa -- a form of brnan-pa -- to confirm. IX 55

mrnam (for brnam ?) -- meaning unknown. The Chinese equivalent is 侵謀 to acquire by raids or plots. I W. 33

bsnan -- perfective of snon-pa -- to add, increase, augment. VII E. 34,38,45; VIII 39

bsnan-bskyed -- to add onto, augment, increase; cf. brnan-bskyed. VII E. 34,38,45

P

pa (波 puâ), pa'i, pa'o, par, pas, see under various stems

pu -- transcription of Chinese 夫 fu (pju). I S. 6,9,11, 16,30

p'u -- transcription of Chinese 夫 fu (pju). I S. 13,28, 33,35,36,37

pu-nu-po -- clansman, kinsman, relative of the clan; see also phu-nu. II N. 30,63

peng -- transcription of Chinese 兵 ping (pjæng)

peng-bo -- 兵部 (pjæng buo:), Board of War. I S. 16

peng -- transcription of Chinese 平 p'ing (bjæng), see Kwang-. II S. 50,62

pen, see Hong-

peld = 'pheld; see bu-tsha. II N. 27,32,44

po (普 phuo:, 浦 puo), po'i, por, pos, see under various stems

pon (奔 puən). I N. 12,32

pyang-cub -- variant of byang-chub -- wisdom, bodhi. XII 1-2

pyugs = phyugs -- cattle. II N. 29

dpag -- a measure. IX 20

dpag-du myed-pa -- without measure, beyond measure. IX 20

dpags-pa -- perfective of dpog-pa -- to measure; proportion. VII E. 9

dpang 證 -- a witness. I W. 8,63; IX 54

dpal chen-po -- a title or name of a monk. I N. 9

dpe -- model, example; copy, facsimile; see bla-, zla-, 'og-. VII W. 52,53, E. 47,48; VIII 44

dper -- pattern, copy (terminative). IV 11

dpen-pa -- useful, beneficial. VII W. 9,18,51, E. 14

dpend-pa -- variant of dpen-pa -- beneficial. II S. 40-1, (73); VII W. 12-13

dpend-pa -- variant form of phang-ba ~ phangs-pa -- to save, to use sparingly, to spare. II E. 11

dpon -- chief, leader; see also dmag-, pon

dpon-sna -- officials, officers. IV 10

dpon-po -- leader, head, master. VII W. 42

dpya -- tribute. II S. 47,48

dpya' -- variant of dpya. II S. 51; IV 18

dpya'-khral -- taxation, compulsory levies in general. IV 18

dpyid -- spring. I E. 67; XIV 4

dprog -- future of 'phrog-pa -- to deprive, take away. II N. 53; VII W. 45

'Pan-yul = 'Phan-yul. II N. 45-46

'peld = 'pheld; see bu-tsha. II N. 14,18

spa-gong = spa-bkong, spa-'gongs -- to frighten, to be frightened. II S. 32

spang-ba -- to give up, abandon. IX 32,46,48

spu -- perhaps a variant of spus -- characteristic, quality; good quality. IV 16

spu, see 'O-lde

spun -- brother, sister, sibling. VII F. 7

spel -- to unite, join together. I E. 15

spo' -- to alter, change. II N. 49

spyad-pa -- variant and possibly perfective of spyod-pa -- to do, perform, accomplish. VIII 33; IX 37; XII 4

spyan -- eye (honorific); see 'dri-. XIV 6

spyan-ras -- eye (honorific); penetrating vision. VII W. 33

spyard-pa' -- variant of sbyar, perfective of sbyor-ba -- join, connect, put together, prepare; cf. also sbyard. III 7-8

spyir -- terminative of spyi -- all, general. VII W. 8,14, 18, E. 14

spyod-pa -- deed, act; to do, act. V 27; XII 2

Ph

pha -- father. II N. 39,66; XIII 2,5

pha-myes -- ancestor. IV 9

pha -- transcription of Chinese 播 po (puâ-). I S. 12

phan-cad -- towards, until. VII W. 44-45

phan-chad -- towards, until, down to. IV 4

phan thogs-par -- profitable, advantageous (terminative). I E. 31

phan-ba -- to be useful. II E. 15; VII E. 15

phan-phun -- dissention. VII W. 11

phan-tshun 相 彼此 -- mutually, each other. I W. 31, 40, E. 17,29,31,39,43

phab -- perfective of 'bebs-pa -- fix, lay down, establish; make (a vow); to cast down; to fall (i.e. a conquered city). II S. 20,63

phabs-pa -- variant of phab-pa, perfective of 'bebs-pa, sense of 'make (a vow)'. I E. 34

pham-ba -- perfective of 'pham-ba -- to be defeated; to fall short, be found wanting. VII E. 10

phal -- usual, common. I N. 24, S. 18

phal[-po] che -- a large amount. II S. 31-32

phu, ph'u -- transcription of Chinese 夫 fu (pju); cf. pu, p'u. I S. 20,26

phu-dud -- honor, respect, esteem

phu-dud bya 祇應, 供應 -- shall do honor. I W. 44,46

phu-nu -- clansman, kinsman; see also pu-nu-po. VII W. 39; XIII 5

phugsu = phug-su -- at last, hereafter. II S. 71

phul(-ba) -- perfective of 'bul-ba -- to give, offer. II S. 48; VI 57; VII W. 44,51,56, E. 16,22

phe'u-pa -- hostile representation, accusation (?). VII E. 30

pheld = 'pheld; see bu-tsha. II N. 59,67

pho -- man, male. I E. 63; XIV 4,5

pho-nya 驛騎 -- messenger, envoy. I W. 40, E. 44,68

pho-brang -- palace, castle. II S. 54 (here possibly referring to the Chinese capital city, Ch'ang-an); VII E. 23; IX 45,47

pho-brang lha-sa'i -- Lhasa palace (genitive). I E. 61

phongs -- a form of phang-ba ~ phangs-pa -- to save, spare; pity, love, be concerned about or chary of; see srog-. IV 7

phywa -- a class of sky deities in the indigenous pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. IV 3

phyag -- hand. VII W. 44

phyag-rgya -- seal (honorific). VII W. 61, E. 39

phyag-rgyas 官印 -- seal, stamp (instrumental). I W. 74; VII W. 28,53,54

phyag-sbal -- archive, treasury. I W. 77; VII W. 52, E. 46; XIII 7

phyad -- to be constant, perpetual. I E. 44

phyi (糸比 phi) -- outer, external. I E. 11,48, N. 30; II E. 9

phyi-nang 內外 -- exterior and interior, outer and inner. I W. 19, E. 36,53, N. 7; II E. 9; VI 10

phyi-blon (糸比論 phi luen-) -- a title, official of the exterior. I N. 28,38

phyi -- behind, later; see also da-. VII W. 19, E. 41

phyi-ma -- later, subsequently. VII W. 29, E. 23,33

phyir -- after, afterwards, backwards (terminative); see also da-. I W. 35; VII W. 61

phyir -- on account of, because (terminative). I E. 13; VII E. 22,39; VIII 13; IX 32; XI 9

phyir gtang-ngo 放歸 -- one shall send him back. I W. 35

phyir-zhing -- more, more and more (backwards, again). I E. 11; VI 4

phyis -- later (instrumental). I E. 25; VII W. 9, E. 45

Phying-ba -- name of a hill on which stood Phying-ba-stag-rtse, the ancestral castle of the Yar-lung kings. VIII 51

Phying-ba-stag-rtse -- name of the central fortress or castle of the Tibetan kings, now usually spelled 'Phying-ba-stag-rtse. It was located on a hill above the present-day village of 'Phyong-rgyas. IV 4-5

phyin-cad -- later, afterwards. III 9-10

phyin-chad -- later, afterwards. IX 22,51

phyin-par -- to come, arrive. I E. 46

phyug -- rich. V 25

Phyug-po -- a proper name (?). VII F. 6

phyung, see zur-

phye-ba -- perfective of 'byed-pa -- to separate. IV 9

phyed -- perfective of 'byed-pa -- to open (transitive). XIV 7

phyogs -- side, direction, quarter. I W. 28,29, E. 13,14, 18,36,57,61; II S. 34; VI 23,39; X 2

phyogs-su -- in the direction of, on behalf of (terminative). II S. 26; VII E. 14-15

-- in (all) directions. VII W. 16

-- beside, at the side of. VII E. 47-8

phra -- small, trifling, see also che-

phra-mo -- small, low. VII E. 37

phra-ma -- slander. II N. 59

phrad-pa -- future of 'phrad-pa -- to meet with. I W. 44,45

phran, see rgyal-

phran -- small, trifling, see rgyal-

phran-tshegs -- trifling difficulty. I E. 47

phri -- perfective of 'phri-ba -- to lessen diminish. VII E. 9

phrig -- doubt, suspicion; see dogs-. I E. 48

phrin, phrind, see bka'-

phrin-las -- honorific for las -- deed, act, work. V 11

dphang = dpang -- a witness. III 17

dphen-pha -- variant of dpen-pa -- useful, beneficial. XIII 1

dphya' -- variant of dpya -- tribute. see stsang-. IV 19

'phags(-pa) 賢聖 -- exalted, sublime, glorious, etc. (perfective of 'phag-pa -- to rise, be raised). I W. 62; VI 52; VII F. 7

'Phan-yul -- a region north of Lhasa, well-known as a recruiting ground in the time of the kings of Tibet (cf. Richardson 1952:33, n. 18).

'Phan-yul-pa -- a person of 'Phan-yul. II N. 41

'pham-ba -- to be defeated; to fall short, be found wanting. VII E. 19

'phel -- to increase, multiply; see bu-tsha. IV 14

'pheld -- to increase, multiply; see bu-tsha. II N. 8,39, 48,55,61

'phra-ma -- variant of phra-ma -- slander. VII W. 36

'phra-men -- a type of inlay or gilt made from precious metals and perhaps also stones. IV 11; VIII 61-62

'phral -- the present time, the current period. I W. 16

'phral-yun = 'phral dang yun-du -- at that time and subsequently, now and in the time to come. (I W. 16); V 31; VII W. 18, E. 12-13

'phrul -- to transform, be transformed; magic, supernatural; divine, holy; see also Rgyal-, lha-. I E. 34,52,55; VIII 11

'phrul-gyi lha 聖神 -- God Incarnate (FKL); God of Supernatural Qualities (WSC). I W. 2,12, E. 1,5,16, 22,25,51; V 16,33; VII W. 1, E. 1; IX 1,4,22; XIV 1

B

ba, ba'i, bar, bas, see under various stems

bag -- precaution, caution, care, concern, attention, fear; see also thugs-. I W. 54; IV 10

bag brkyang 撤備 shall relax precautions, be at ease. I W. 54

bag -- propensity, passion (= bag-chags ?). II N. 56

bang-so -- grave, tomb, tumulus. VI 59

ban-de 沙[門] -- Buddhist monk. I N. 9; VII W. 2,4,12, 21,24,32,50,54, E. 3,4,7,11,17,21

bab-pa -- perfective of 'bab-pa -- to move down, descend, arrive at. II N. 25,34; IV 7; VII E. 10,29

bar -- intermediate space, interval. I W. 42,50, E. 47; VI 24,(40)

yul gnyis-kyi bar-na 兩界 -- between the two countries. I W. 49-50

bar-'ga' -- some cases, sometimes. I E. 29

bar-du -- during, throughout. I W. 56, E. 43; IV 4; VII W. 5

bal, see lho-

bas -- to finish, complete, do thoroughly, accomplish. IV 8

bas -- than (comparative particle). IV 13; VII W. 19, E. 25

-bu -- a diminutive suffix, see sgreng-, sgrom-, Lcang-, mkhar-, lta-, yos-

bu, b'u -- transcription of Chinese 武 wu (mju). I W. 14, E. 1,23,26,40,54, S. 34

bu -- son. XIII 7

bu-tsha -- sons and grandsons, progeny. VII W. 39; VIII 48-49

bu-tsha rgyud-'pheld -- sons and/or male descendants. II N. 7,39,48

The following are variant or shortened forms with the same or similar meanings:

bu-tsha rgyud II N. 21,36; VIII 35

bu-tsha rgyud-peld II N. 32,44

bu-tsha rgyud-'peld II N. 13-14, 17-18

bu-tsha rgyud-'pheld II N. 55

bu-tsha rgyud-pheld II N. 58-59,67

bu-tsha' rgyud-'pheld II N. 50-51

bu-tsha pheld-rgyud XIII 2,5

bu-tsha 'phel-rgyud IV 14; VII W. 33,37,42-3,46, E. 26

bu-tsha peld II N. 27

bu-tsha 'pheld II N. 61

b'un -- transcription of Chinese 文 wen (mjuən). I E. 26, 40

B'un-b'u he'u-tig hwang-te 文武孝德皇帝 (mjuən mju: xau- tək ɣwâng tiei-) -- title of a T'ang emperor. I W. 14, E. 1-2,54

B'un-bu sheng hwang-te 文武聖皇帝 (mjuən mju: śjäng- ɣwâng tiei-) -- title of a T'ang emperor. I E. 23

bur, see glo-

bus, see lta-

b'ei -- transcription of Chinese 裴 p'ei (bjwei)

B'ei bu 裴武 (bjwei mju:) -- name of a person. I S. 34

bo, b'o -- transcription of Chinese 部 pu (buo:). I S. 13,16,25,26,28,33,37

bo (譜 puo). I N. 38

bo, see chu

bog, b'og -- transcription of Chinese 僕 p'u (buok, buk). I S. 20,24,31

Bod 蕃,大蕃 -- Tibet, Tibetan. I W. 1,45,46,58, E. 6,20, 64; II E. 13, S. 12,51,54,60,66; V 24; VI 17,34,41; IX 36,37,38,47

Bod chen-po 大蕃 -- Great Tibet. I W. 30, E. 57,61, 65, N. 1,4,24

Bod-yul 蕃國 -- Tibetan land, Tibetan territory. I W. 58, E. 60-61

Bod-Rgya gnyis 蕃漢二國 -- the two countries, Tibet and China. I W. 26,42,68,71, E. 56

bor(-ba) -- perfective of 'bor-ba -- to cast, throw; swear (an oath). I W. 66,72; III 20; IX 27,55; XIII 7

bya(-ba) 務令 -- future of byed-pa -- to do, make; to cause or effect. I W. 20,45,46, E. 30; VI 19; VII W. 13,25,25-6, E. 32,39; IX 42

byang -- north. V 22; VI (39)

byang-phyogs -- the north. I E. 14

byang-chub -- wisdom, enlightenment, bodhi; see also pyang-cub. V 27,33; (VI 47-48); X 11

byang-chub chen-po -- great wisdom, mahābodhi. V 33-34; VI 47-48

Byang-chub -- name of a queen; possibly the same person as Rgyal-mo-brtsan, mentioned in Text X 1. XI 10

byad, see yo-

byams-pa'i -- kind, loving (genitive). I E. 10,36

byas -- perfective of byed-pa -- to do, make, play the role of. I W. 8,67,69, E. 31,70; II E. 16, S. 4,41,60,72, 74; VI 56,57; VII W. 5,6,8,13,15,16,17,38,51, E. 14; VIII 33; IX 44

byi-ba -- rat (calendrical term). XIV 4

byin -- splendor, magnificence. I E. 12; V 4,12,18,24; VI 4

byin-pa(~ -ba) -- perfective of sbyin-pa -- to give, bestow. V 30; VII W. 24,41

byir = phyir -- for the sake of. VII W. 26

byung -- perfective of 'byung-ba -- to come out, emerge, arise; happen. I W. 41, E. 5,32,43; II S. 62, N. 23; VI 18,24,40; VII W. 10; IX 43

byed(-pa) -- to do, make. II S. 14, N. 57; VII W. 30, E. 29; VIII 22; IX 41,43; XII 2

byed-byed(-pa) -- to continue to do or be (continuative of byed-pa). II S. 7; VII W. 9,17,19, E. 15; XIII 2

Brag-mar = Brag-dmar -- a place several miles north of Bsamyas. III 1; IX 10,13

brang, see pho-

bran -- servant, liegeman; serf. II N. 51; IV 18; VII W. 43; VIII 19

Bran-ka -- a clan name. I N. 34

bri-ba = 'bri-ba -- to write. VIII 3

bris(-pa) 題 -- perfective of 'bri-ba -- to write. I W. (11),73,76, E. 4,65,67,70; V 10; VI 12; VII W. 28,31, 52, E. 39,43,46; IX 28,56

bris-pa' -- variant of bris-pa. II N. 4; IV 11; VIII 4

brel, see thugs-

bro -- an oath. III 19; IX 27,55; XIII 7

bros -- perfective of 'bros-pa -- to flee. II S. 63

bla (羅 lâ) -- over, above, superior; head, commander; see also sku-, ya-. I N. 10,32,40; VII W. 7,16, E. 14, 32

bla-skyes -- gift, present. IV 18

bla-na myed-pa -- supreme, uppermost. X 11

bla-nas -- from above, from the authorities. II N. 57; VII W. 35; VIII 27; XIII 4

bla-dpe -- (upper:) main copy, principal facsimile, the original as opposed to a duplicate copy. VIII 41, 50-51

blar -- (to:) by the authorities (terminative). II N. 29,35,52; XIII 37

blangs -- perfective of len-pa -- to receive, get. I E. 25, 28; II E. 8; VIII 10

blugs -- perfective of ldug-pa -- to pour; to cast (metal vessels). XI 12

blon (論 luən-) -- minister, a title used before a personal name denoting an official of high rank; see also rje-, nang-. I W. 71, N. 12,14,22,26,28,29,32,34,36, 38,40; II E. 1, S. 58, N. 1,7,31,35,38,43,66; III 19; IV 20; VII W. 33,46, E. 25

blon-po 臣 -- minister, official. I W. 74, E. 29, N. 14,18,20,22, S. 4; II S. 69; IV 3; VI 56; VII W. 17, 29,49, E. 36; XIII 7

blon(-po) chen-po -- great minister. The Chinese translation of this term was either 宰相 tsai-hsiang or 大論 ta-lun. I N. 11; II S. 6; VII W. 17

blon-po che-phra 宰相等，官寮 -- high and low officials. I N. 1, S. 1

blon-po phal 諸寮寀 -- common officials. I N. 24, S. 18

dbang -- to be powerful, have power, hold sway; power, might. I N. 8; II N. 52; VII W. 29, E. 32; VIII 37; IX 43

dbab-pa -- future of 'bebs-pa -- to cast down, put away; send down, impose (a tax or duty). II N. 10,24,64; IV 18; VIII 29

Dba's -- a clan name. VII W. 56

dbu -- head

dbu-snyung -- (loss of the head >) an oath sworn on one's head. II N. 6; III 19; VII W. 3,48,55, E. 3, 35; IX 27,55; XIII 6

dbu-rmog -- helmet (= authority). I E. (12),16,53; IV 8; V 3,12,19; VI 4

dbung -- center, middle. IX 14

dbud-pa -- future of 'bud-pa -- throw down, cast away. III 13; IX 53

dbus -- middle, center. I E. 7

dbon -- nephew. I E. 42

-- grandson. II N. 12; VII W. 29,59

dbon-zhang 舅甥 -- nephew and uncle. I W. 4,(14-) 15,38,47, E. (3),28,33,39,46,54

dbon-sras -- grandson; male offspring or descendants. VI 18-19; IX 34,48; XIII 4

dbyangs -- singing, song, melody; see also sgra-, gsung-. X 9

dbyar -- summer. I E. 63

Dbyar-mo-thang -- name of a place in northwest China, near to and probably east or northeast of the Kokonor. II S. 33

dbyal, see stangs-

Dbyi-gong -- name of a person, relative and probably great uncle of Myang Ting-nge-'dzin. VII W. 55

dbyung -- future of 'byin-pa -- cause to come forth, draw or bring forth. VII W. 61

dbye -- future of 'byed-pa -- to open. VII W. 59

dbri -- future of 'bri-ba -- to decrease, lessen, diminish. II N. 53; III 8; IV 18; VII W. 31, E. 43; XIII 3

'bangs -- subject; see also rjes-. II S. 66; VI 18,19; VIII 28; IX 38

'ba'-shig = 'ba'-zhig -- only, solely, alone. VII W. 18

'Bal (末 muât) -- a clan name. I N. 32; II S. 5,14,18

'bul(-ba) -- to bring in, lay before, offer; pay up. IV 19

'bul-'bul-ba -- continuative of 'bul-ba. VII W. 20, E. 5

'b'en -- transcription of Chinese 俛 mien (mjän:). I S. 17

'byung-ba -- to come out, emerge; happen; to be said, to be heard to have been said. VII W. 30-1, E. 43; VIII 9; IX 26,51

['Bye'u Ts]in-keng -- transcription of 苗晉卿 Miao Chin-ch'ing (mjäu tsjen- khjɐng), name of a person. II S. 64

'bras -- rice. IV 19

'bring -- middle, midst; see Zham-. II N. 14

'bring-ba -- mid or middle. XIV 6

'bring-po -- mid or middle. I E. 63,67

'brug -- dragon (a calendrical term). VII E. 22

'bro (沒盧 muet luo) -- a clan name. I N. 38

'brog -- high pasture. II N. 51; IV 18; VII W. 43; VIII 19

sbal, see phyag-

sbyang-ba -- future of sbyong-ba -- to clean, purify. XII 3

sbyangs -- perfective of sbyong-ba -- clean, clear away. I E. 41

sbyar 合 -- perfective and future of sbyor-ba -- to join together, connect, put together, prepare; combine, unite; affix, apply; to compare; correspond to, accord with. I W. 49,60; VII W. 20,56; VIII 18

sbyard(-pa) -- variant of sbyar, perfective of sbyor-ba -- join, connect, put together, prepare. I E. 10; IV 17; VII W. 8

sbyin(-pa) -- give, bestow. VII W. 23,44, E. 19

sbyin-ba -- variant of sbyin-pa -- give. VII W. 21; VIII 38

sbyor -- join together, connect; put together, prepare. VI 38

Sbra-stod-tshal -- place name. I E. 61

sbrel -- to connect, join. VII W. 61

M

ma -- negative particle. I W. 33,67,70, E. 43,46,49; II S. 52, N. 22,59; III 16; IV 7,9; V 7,32; VII W. 5,11,36,

39,44, E. 10,28, F. 4; IX 19,20,25,31,50; XII 3

ma-tshad-par -- immeasureably, without limit. I E. 32

ma-'ongs -- what has not yet come, the future. XII 3

ma -- below

mar -- downwards (terminative). V 20

mas -- by those below, from below (agentive). VII W. 44

ma-thag-tu -- as soon as. VI 25

ma-thog-la -- in the lower part, in the latter period (?). VI 27 (Richardson's restored version)

ma' = ma -- negative particle. III 6

ma, see snga-, gdod-, phyi-, 'phra-, tshad-

mang-po 萬姓 -- many, the multitude, the people. I W. 19; II S. 31(?),45,61; VI 56

Mang-po-rje, see Kar-po

man-cad 已東 -- below, on the lower side of, on the other side of, as far as. I W. 44; VII W. 49; IX 35,38

man-chad -- variant of man-cad -- as far as. IV 7; V 20

mal -- a site, place. I W. 54

ming-po -- woman's brother. II S. 68

mu -- border, boundary, limit. VI 16

Mu-rug-brtsan -- name of a person, elder brother of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan. VII W. 48

mun -- transcription of Chinese 門 men (muən)

mun-ha zhi-lang -- 門下侍郎 (muən ɣa: z̈i- lâng), Vice President of the Department of the Imperial Chancellery. I S. 6

mun -- transcription of Chinese 文 wen (mjuən)

Mun-sheng kong-co -- 文成公主 (mjuən źjäng kung tśju:), Princess Wen-ch'eng. I E. 24

men, see 'phra-

mo -- divination, a lot cast by a diviner. IX 31

mo -- female. I E. 59,66

mo, see De-, Rgyal-, zhib-, phra-

Mon -- a southern border people of Tibet. I E. 14

mor, see zhib-

mol 商議 -- discúss, confer. I W. 5,25, E. 2,24,27,40; IV 20; VII E. 20

mold-ba'i -- discuss, confer (genitive). I E. 46

Myang (明 mjwəng) -- a clan name. I N. 40; VII W. 2,56, 57, E. 3

myi 人 -- person, human being. I W. 8,34,52, E. 8; IV 4, 9; V 1,32; VI 2,6,11,20,53,58; VII E. 1,18, F. 2,7

myi-ma-yin-pa(~ -pa') -- amānuṣa, a type of non-human, supernatural being. III 16-17; IX 54

myi bzung 捉生 -- to have seized a person. I W. 34

myi -- negative particle. I W. 7,31,32,50,51,61, E. 12,17, 19,49; II N. 10,24,29,35,42,49,52,53,54,59,60,64; III 6,8,14; IV 14,15,18,19; V 18; VI 3,4,16,17; VII W. 22, 31,36,39,41,44,45,47, E. 8,18,19,30,32,43,44; VIII 7, 22,29,30,37,38; IX 25,32,33,37,38,46,48,53; XIII 3

myig, see nongs-myig. II N. 23

mying 名 -- name. I W. 51, E. 58,62,65,66; IV 15; VII W. 41

myang-'rus 名 -- name and clan name. I N. 3,5-6,25, S. 3,5,18-19

myed(-pa) 無 -- have not, there is no. I W. 19,53, E. 17, 36; V 32; VI 17; VII W. 13,16; VIII 36; IX 20,21,21-22, 47-48; X 11

myes -- grandfather, ancestor; see also pha-, yab-. IX 4,7, 10

myes-khu-po -- great uncle (?). VII W. 55

myes-po -- grandfather. II N. 43; VII W. 33

myes (名 mjwɐng) -- part of a proper name; see Klu-bzang. I N. 33

Myes-zigs -- name of a minister of the Lang clan; liquidated in or shortly before 755. II S. 6

dmag -- army. I E. 31,49, N. 12; II S. 54; VI 26

...dmag-go-chog-gi bla 兵馬都元帥 -- Commander-in-chief of the Army. I N. 10

dmag-dpon -- army commander. II S. 27,56

dmag myi-drang 不擧兵革 -- will not lead armies. I W. 32

dmag sum-rgya -- army of three hundred soldiers. II N. 40

dmangs -- common people. II N. 45; VII E. 26

dma'-ba -- to lower, reduce; disgrace, ruin. II N. 57

dma's -- perfective of dma'-ba -- to lower, reduce. IX 50

rma -- to inquire, say, claim; pronounce judgement or punishment. II N. 63; VII W. 38,39

rma (摩 muâ) -- part of a proper name; see Klu-bzang. I N. 33

rmog, see dbu-

rmyi -- dream

rmyi-ltas -- a prognostic omen in a dream. IX 31

smad -- to abuse, blame. II N. 26

smad-pa -- to be down, low. VII E. 9

sman, see Lde-

smon-lam -- prayer. VIII 14; XIV 8

smond = smon-pa -- to wish, desire, pray for. X 12

smos -- perfective of smo-ba -- to say. VII F. 4

Ts

tsa -- a syllable which apparently represents Chinese 右 yu (jəu-). I S. 24,31

tsa kim 'go 'we'i da'i tsang kun -- 右金吾衛大將軍 (jəu- kjəm nguo jwäi- dâi- tsjang kjwən), a title. I S. 38

tsa, see bu-

tsang -- transcription of Chinese 將 chiang (tsjang). I S. 38

Tsang-kun-yog -- 將軍谷 (tsjang kjwən jiwok), place name. I W. 42-3

tsan (贊 tsân-) -- part of a name; see Rgyal-gen. I N. 40

tsam -- see ji-. II N. 19

tsam-du -- as much as, up to, to the extent that. VII E. 7

tsam-zhig -- a little, just a, merely. IV 10; VI 12

[ts]in -- transcription of Chinese 晉 chin (tsjen-). II S. 64

ts'i -- transcription of Chinese 紫 tzu (tsje:). I S. 20

tse -- variant of tshe -- time, generation; see also sku-. VII F. 6,7

Tse -- a proper name (?). VII F. 6

tseng -- transcription of Chinese 清 ch'ing (tshjäng)

Tseng-shu-hywan -- 清水縣 (tshjäng świ: ɣiwen-), place name. I W. 45

tse'e -- transcription of Chinese 載 tsai (tsâi-). I E. 69

tsong -- transcription of Chinese 宗 tsung (tsuong). I E. 23, S. 32

Tsong-ka = Tsong-kha, name of a district east of Kokonor. II S. 34

gtsang -- pure, clean. (I E. 7)

Gtsang -- name of an ancient military/administrative territorial division in Tibet. VII E. 26

gtsigs 盟約,盟誓,大約,誓,盟 -- document, official text, decree, certificate, etc.; cf. gtan-, chos-. I W. 6,(10),60,66,67,70, E. 45,60,64; II N. 2; IV 2,10, 11,12,13; VII W. 3,24,26,27,47,50,51,53,55,57,58, E. 3, 5,8,16,17,20,23,33,38,40,42,44,45,46,47,48; VIII 8,49, 53,57,60; IX 2,27,55,56; XIII 5,7

gtsigs-kyi yi-ge 文,誓文 -- the text or words of the treaty, text of the inscription. I W. 72,76-77; VII W. 30,52; IX 56

gtsigs-khrims -- treaty-law. I E. 70

gtsigs-gyi yi-ge -- text of the inscription. III 20

gtsigs-bdag -- keeper of the inscription. VII W. 60

gtsigs-'dzin-pa 登壇 -- the ones who conclude the treaty. I W. 75, N. 2, S. 2

gtsug -- a part of several royal names. I E. 1,25,51

gtsug -- reduced form of gtsug-lag. VI 3

gtsug-lag -- wisdom, knowledge; the entire body or system of indigenous, pre-Buddhist beliefs; statecraft (when referring to the principles underlying the king's rule). I E. 8,20; V 2,7; VI 5

gtsug-lag-khang -- temple, chapel. III 2; VI 28; VII W. 26, E. 40; VIII 2,16,23,25-26,32,38,40,43,45,63-64; IX 5-6,8-9,11,14,16; XIV 3-4

gtsugs -- a form of 'dzugs-pa -- to set up, establish. XIV 4

gtses -- perfective of gtse-ba (= 'tshe-ba) -- to harm, injure, damage. IV 10

btsan -- damaged form of btsan-po (?). XIII 6

btsan -- variant of brtsan -- mighty, strong (see note to VI 19). VI 19

btsan-po (贊普 tsân- phuo:) -- title of the Tibetan king. I W. 2,(12), E. 1,5,16,22,25,28,34,42,51; II S. 65, N. 12,21,61; III 11,18; IV 1,4,5,12; V 1,5,16; VI 1,13; VII W. 1,32, E. 2; VIII 3-4,5,10-11,14,21,24; IX 1,4,15,23,26,33-34,45,47,52,54; X 7; XI 4; XIII 1

btsan-pho -- variant of btsan-po. II S. 1,8,11,16,21,41-2, 52, N. 5

Btsan-bzher lho-gong (贊熱土公 tsân- ñźjäṭ thuo: kung) -- name of a person. I N. 29

btsa' -- to watch, scrutinize. VII W. 34

btsal -- future of 'tshol-ba -- to look for, seek. II N. 60

btsas -- perfective of btsa'-ba -- to bear, beget; to watch, scrutinize; watch over, raise. VII W. 6

btsig-pha = brtsig-pa -- future of rtsig-pa -- to build. XIII 4

btsugs(-pa) -- perfective of 'dzugs-pa -- to put, place, establish. I E. 9; III 4; VII W. 27; VIII 17; IX 7,9-10, 12,15,18,24,30,45

btsud -- perfective of 'dzud-pa -- to lead, guide, bring in. IX 39

rtsa -- root; see son-. XIV 5

rtsa -- connective element in numerals. I E. 22

rtsan-pho -- variant of btsan-po -- epithet of the Tibetan king. XIV 1

rtsal -- skill, accomplishment; to be accomplished, dextrous, adroit. VI 47,52

rtsis (資悉 tsi sjet) -- to calculate

rtsis-pa chen-po (資悉波折逋 tsi sjet puâ tśjät puo) -- Great Comptroller. I N. 36

rtseg-pa -- to pile, build up, strengthen. I E. 38

stsang -- staple foodstuffs; grain (?). IV 19

stsang-dphya' -- grain-tribute. IV 19

stsal -- to give, bestow; see bka'-. I E. 17

stsald(-pa ~ -pha) -- variant of stsal -- to give, bestow, appoint; see bka'-. II E. 5, N. 11,30,37,46-47; IV 11, 14,17; VIII 8,12,44

stse (for sywe ?) -- transcription of Chinese 綏 (swi)

stse-zhung-cheg -- 綏 戎 栅 (swi ñžjung tṣhɛk), place name. I W. 43

stsogs, see la, las

stson-pa -- possibly an old form of gson-pa (~ son-pa) -- to rouse, stir, into life, urge on. VII W. 11

brtsan-po -- strong, mighty, powerful. I E. 16,49,53; V 3, 12,19; VI (23),51

brtsan(-pa) = brtsan-po. I E. 12; VI 5,8

brtsan-ba = brtsan-po. VII W. 24, E. 35; VIII 34

brtsand -- variant of brtsan -- strong, mighty, powerful. IV 8

brtsan (贊 tsân-) -- an element in various royal names and in several other proper names; see Rgyal-mo-, Murug-. I W. 13, E. 1,23,26,34,51, N. 27,38

brtsal -- perfective of rtsol-ba -- energetic, zealous, active, stirred up. I E. 47

brtsigs(-pa) -- perfective of rtsig-pa -- to build. VII W. 27; VIII 2-3,16; IX 6,9,11,14,17

brtseg-pa 重 申 -- future of rtseg-pa -- to pile one thing on top of another, build up, strengthen. I W. 24

brtsegs -- perfective of rtseg-pa -- to pile up, strengthen. I E. 27

gstsan = gsan-pa -- to listen to. VII W. 36

gstsand -- variant of gstsan -- to listen to. II N. 59

Tsh

tsha, see bu-

tshang-ba -- complete, full, entire. VIII 20

tshad -- to measure, measurement, limit. I E. 32

tshad-ma -- argument. I E. 46

tshal -- garden; grove, wood, forest. II N. 52; VII W. 43

tshal, see Sbra-

tshal -- perhaps a form of 'tshal-ba -- to want, wish, desire; see sol-. XI 7

tshal -- food. II N. 16

tshig, see tha-

tshigs -- perhaps = tshig -- word, words, wording. II N. 25

tshis -- friend; cf. chis. I E. 10

tshung -- transcription of Chinese 鏦從 ts'ung (tshjwong). I S. 39

tshun, see phan-

tshun-cad -- from....hitherwards. I E. 5,41-42; VI 27, 43

tshun-chad -- from.....hitherwards. IV 4,9

tshul 禮 -- manner way; nature; proper rites. I W. 47, E. 3,33,50,52; VI 11; VII W. 22

tshe -- time, generation; see also sku-. I E. 31,42; II S. 52; IV 6; VII E. 6,23, F. 5

tshe-tshe [rabs-rab]s 世世代代 -- distributive plural of tshe-rabs, i.e. generations and generations. I W. 9

tshegs, see phran-

tsheng -- transcription of Chinese 青 ch'ing (tshieng). I S. 26,30,37

tshes, see khyim-

tshes -- day of the month. I E. 59,63,67

Tshes-pong -- a clan name, also spelled Tshe-spong in early sources. VIII 1,9,47

mtshan -- name (honorific). V 33; VIII 23

mtshan-pa -- to style, call by an honorific name. VI 59

mtshams -- frontier, boundary; see also sa-. I W. 27; V 20

mtshungs-pa -- like, similar, equal. VI 8

mtshungs-pha -- variant of mtshungs-pa. XIII 3

mtsho -- lake

mtsho chen-po -- great lake, ocean. I E. 18

'tshams, see nye-

'tshal -- sifficient, satisfactory. VII E. 18

'tshal -- to want, wish for, ask for. IV 10

Dz

dza -- transcription of Chinese 左 tso (tsâ). I S. 20,42 (?)

mdzad(-pa) 為 -- to do, act, make; to practice. I W. 6, 26,37, E. 2,3,6,37,52,56; II S. 38,44, N. 58,68; III 5; IV 7,10; V 8,12; VI 7,16,27,50,58; VII W. 29,35-36,40, 59, E. 1,41; VIII 7,27; IX 5,19,24,28,30,33,35,48,51; XIII 4

mdzes -- beauty; handsome

mdzes-sku -- a handsome or comely physique. VI 52

mdzod -- treasury, storehouse. VIII 64

'dzin(-pa) -- to seize, grasp, hold; conclude (a treaty). I W. 75, N. 2,8, S. 2; VII W. 22; XII 1

'dzin, see also Ting-

'dzegs -- perfective of 'dzeg-pa -- to ascend. I E. 60,64

rdzas, see nor-

brdzangs 給以衣糧 -- perfective of rdzong-pa -- to give someone provisions for a journey. I W. 35

W

wang, see 'wang

Zh

zha, see nam-nam-

zha-snga -- the presence (of a king)

zha-snga-nas -- by His (or: my) Majesty (agentive). I E. 34-35,51; II N. 6; V 5-6,17; VI 14,22,50-51; VII W. 48, E. 35

zha-sngar -- to or for His (or: my) Majesty (terminative). II N. 22,62; VII W. 15, E. 11; XIII 1

zhang 舅 -- maternal uncle; see also dbon-. I E. 42; VII W. 6

zhang (尚 źjang-) -- a title of a high official from a family which furnished queens to the Tibetan kings. The Chinese stated that this title was given to members of the 宦族 huan-tsu "families of official office-holders". I N. 10,18,20,26,30,38; II S. 57; VIII 1,9, 12,33,35,47

zhang-lon -- zhang's and (b)lon's, officials in general. II N. 40; VII W. 49, E. 36-37; XIII 7

zhang-lon yi-ge-can -- rank of an official. VII E. 27-28

zhang-lon yi-ge-pa -- rank of an official. II N. 40

zhang-shu -- transcription of Chinese 尚書 shang-shu (źjang śjwo), Department of Government Affairs, president of a board. I S. 16,25,26,28,33,37-38

zhang-shu ho-b'o zhi-lang -- 尚書戶部侍郎 (źjang-śjwo ɣuo: buo: źï- lâng), the Vice President of the Board of Finance. I S. 13

zhang-shu dza b'og-ya -- 尚書左僕射 (źjang-śjwo tsâ: buok ~ buk jia-), the Left Vice-President of the Department of Government Affairs. I S. 20

zhang-zhu tsa bog ~ b'og-ya -- 尚書右僕射 (źjang-śjwo jəu- buok ~ buk jia-), the Right Vice-President of the Department of Government Affairs. I S. 24, 30-31

zhang-shu dza (?) s'i-lang-cung -- 尚書右 (?)司郎中 (źjang- śjwo jəu- sï lâng ṭjung), Director of the Right (?) Bureau in the Department of Government Affairs. I S. 42

zham-'bring -- attendant (= zham-ring, zhabs-'bring, zha-'bring, etc.) II N. 14; VII W. 34

zhar, see nam-, nam-nam-

zhal -- mouth, countenance (respectful); see also bka'-.

zhal bsros -- (warmed the countenance:) consecrated (a shrine or temple). XIV 7

zhal-gyis, see kha-cig

zhal-ce -- judgement; zhal-ce-pa -- judge

zhal-ce-pa chen-po zhal-ce-'o-chog-gi bla -- 刑部尚書 the Great Judge, the Supreme Justice. I N.

zhi -- transcription of Chinese 侍 ssu (źi̤-). I S. 6,9, 13

zhig -- one, a, indefinite article; cf. cig, gcig. I W. 33, E. 38; II N. 28,33,56,57,61; IV 8 (see cis); VII W. 38, E. 29; VIII 36

zhig, see also lta-, nam-, tsam-, la-la-

zhig-pa -- perfective of 'jig-pa -- to destroy, ruin. III 6; IX 20,21,25,50

zhing -- field. II N. 51; IV 18; VII W. 43; VIII 19

zhing -- gerundive particle; see also cing, shing. I W. 28, 34,47, E. 11,12,33,50, N. 8; II E. 13, S. 40,73, N. 13, 20; III 10; IV 18; V 26; VI 4,38; VII W. 20,25,34,46, 47,51,56,61, E. 9,22,38; VIII 7,32; IX 41,46

-- during the course of (after time expressions). II N. 13; IX 51

zhib -- fine, accurate

zhib-tu -- exactly, thoroughly. VII E. 45

zhib-mo -- fine, strict, detailed, accurate. III 20-1, V 14; VII W. 52; IX 56

zhib-mor 周細 -- accurately (terminative). I W. 73

zhi'u -- transcription of Chinese 綬 shou (źjəu:). I S. 29

zhi'u -- transcription of Chinese 守 shou (śjəu:) -- to occupy an office provisionally. I S. 6,9,11,13,35,42

zhu, see sri-

zhu -- transcription of Chinese 儒 ju (ńźju). I S. 32

zhu -- transcription of Chinese 孺 ju (ńźju). I S. 23

zhugs -- perfective of 'jug-pa -- to go to, walk into, enter. I E. 21

rgyal-por zhugs -- to become the ruler. II S. 51

zhung -- transcription of Chinese 戎 jung (ńźjung). I W. 43

zhe -- quotative particle; cf. ces, zhes. IX 31

zheng -- transcription of Chinese 聖 sheng (śjäng-)

zheng-shin b'un-b'u hwang-te -- 聖神文武皇帝 (śjäng- dźjen mjuən mju: ɣwâng tiei-), title of a T'ang emperor. I E. 39-40

zhen-pa -- long for, be partial to, be attached to. VII W. 6

zhes -- so, thus (quotative particle). IV 10; VI 59; IX 26, 31

zho-zha -- curds/milk and meat; offerings made by a vassal to his lord. VII W. 20,23,51,56, E. 5,6,9-10,16,19,22

zhongs -- ?. VI 58

gzhag-pa -- future of 'jog-pa -- to put, place. VII W. 34, 62; VIII 46,65

gzhan -- the other, another, other people. I E. 19; II N. 23,42,53,63; IV 14; V 18; VI 52; VII W. 35,38,39,44, E. 32; VIII 54,58

gzhar -- always. VI 3

gzhi -- ground, foundation, cause. VII W. 14

gzhig -- future of 'jig-pa -- to destroy, ruin. IX 32

gzhug(-pa) -- future of 'jug-pa -- to appoint. II N. 15,42; IV 14

bzhag(-pa)' -- perfective of 'jog-pa -- to put, place, set up. I W. 77; VI 21; VII W. 28,52,53, E. 41,47,48; VIII 42,55,59; IX 57

bzhi -- four. I E. 37,67; V 17; VI 54; VIII 18; XIII 7

bzhir -- four (terminative). (VI 23)

bzhin -- to be in accordance with. I W. 41; III 12; V 6; VII W. 61, E. 6,21; VIII 9,34

bzhin-du 合,依 -- according to, in accordance with (terminative). I W. 47-48,67; IV 11,20; VI 6; VII E. 34; IX 28,44,51,52

bzhis -- ?. VI 55

bzhugs(-pa) -- to sit, dwell, reside, be in place. VII E. 23; IX 34; XI 6

bzhugs-bzhugs -- continued to dwell (reduplicative continuative of bzhugs-pa). IV 5

bzhud-pa -- go away, depart. VII F. 3

bzher (熱 ńźjät) -- an element in names. I N. 20,26,29, 30,34

bzhes-pa -- to take, receive; seize, confiscate. II N. 30, 35,52; VI 25; VII W. 5,11,44,45; VIII 30,37

Z

zar -- terminative of za -- to eat. II N. 16

zar mchis -- there is.....for eating. II N. 16

zigs (昔 sjäk) -- part of a name. I N. 37

zin -- variant of 'dzin -- to grasp, hold; see nyam-drod. VII W. 12

zung = gzungs (?) -- a hold; power, strength. VI 14

zun, see dgra-

zur-phyung -- a supplement. VII W. 57-58

zla -- friend, companion, associate, match; corresponding case. I E. 20; VII W. 56; VIII 55,58; IX 56

zla-dpe = dpe-zla -- matching or corresponding example. VII W. 20, E. 6

zla(s) -- moon. I W. 57,63

Zla-gong -- name of a person, father of Stag-sgra Klu-khong. II N. 13,17,21,27,36,39,50,55,58,66

gza-skar 星辰 -- the planets and the stars. I W. 63

gzugs, see sku-

gzungs -- a hold; control. VII W. 16

gzud-pa -- future of 'dzud-pa -- to lead, guide, bring in. XI 38

bzang(-po) -- good, beautiful. I E. 9,20,45; V 3,29; VI 2-3,9; XII 2

bzang-ngan -- good or bad. II N. 54

bzang (藏 dzâng, 勃藏 buət dzâng) -- part of many proper names. I N. 13,22,33,38; VII W. 33,37,42,46, E. 25; VIII 1

bzung -- perfective of 'dzin-pa -- to seize, take in hand; to ratify (a treaty). I W. 34, E. 60,64; VII W. 14; XIII 7

bzlog -- perfective of zlog-pa -- to repulse, defeat. II S. 61

'a, see do

'A-zha -- name of a people. The Chinese called them 吐谷渾 T'u-yü-hun or 退渾 T'ui-hun, sometimes abbreviated to 渾 Hun. II S. 30

'ang -- emphatic particle; see also kyang, yang, gyang. II S. 44; IV 8,10; VII E. 6

'wang -- transcription of Chinese 王 Wang (jwang), a surname

'Wang pha -- 王播 (jwang puâ-), name of a person. I S. 12

'wang -- transcription of Chinese 王 wang (jwang), king, prince

'Wang-peng 'wang II S. 50, also Kwang-peng 'wang II S. 61-2 -- 廣平王 Kuang-p'ing Wang (kwâng: bjɐng jwang), Prince Kuang-p'ing.

'wang -- transcription of Chinese 皇 huang (ɣwâng)

'wang-te -- 皇帝 (ɣwâng tiei-), emperor; the usual Tibetan transcription of this word is hwang-te, q.v. II S. 46-7,50

'am -- alternative and interrogative suffix; cf. gam, tam, dam, sam. IX 31

'wu'i -- transcription of Chinese 韋 wei (jwei)

'Wu'i zhi'u -- 韋綬 (jwei źjəu:), name of a person. I S. 29

'we'i -- transcription of Chinese 衛 wei (jwäi). I S. 38

-'o -- finite verb ending; cf. also -go, -ngo, -to, -do, -no, -ro, -so. (I W. 11), E. 4; II S. 20, N. 63; III

7,9,12; IV 16,23; V 4; VI 12,15,19; VII W. 9; IX 25,43, 46,52

'O-lde-spu-rgyal -- name of a Tibetan king (possibly the same as Nya-khri Btsan-po). I E. 5; VI 1

'o (戶 yuo) I N. 32,39

-'o-c(h)og -- collective suffix meaning "all, any, whatever, etc."

khab-so-'o-chog -- all the khab-so. I N. 32

bya'o-c(h)og -- all the various things one does. VII W. 13; IX 42

byung-ngo-chog -- whatever (faults) come forth. I E. 32

dbang-ngo-cog -- whatever they possess or control. II N. 52; VIII 37

dmag-go-chog -- all of the armies. I N. 10

mdzad-do-cog-du'ang -- whatever he did. II S. 44

zhal-ce-'o-chog -- all the various justices. I N. 39

slebs-so-chog -- any place which is reached. I W. 57

'og -- below, underpart; see also bla-. IV 8; V 21; VII W. 7,16, E. 14,32

'og-tu -- below, after (terminative). VI 37,45,54

'og-du -- below, after (terminative). I E. 22; II S. 49

'o[g]-pon dmag.... --天下兵馬副元帥 deputy commander. I N. 12

'og-dpe -- (lower:) secondary copy. VII W. 54, E. 49; VIII 43,61

'ong-ba -- to come. IX 22

'ongs -- perfective of 'ong-ba -- to come; see ma-. XII 3

'On-cang-do -- name of a royal palace, located about 32 kilometers southwest of Lhasa. VII E. 23; VIII 25,43

'os-pa -- to be worthy, suitable; appropriate. IV 17; VII W. 21,34, E. 7

Y

ya -- above, up.

ya-rabs -- the noble families, the nobility, the upper classes. IX 37-38

yar -- upwards (terminative). V 19

yas -- from above (ablative). IV 6

ya -- transcription of Chinese 射 ye (jia-). I S. 20,24, 31

Ya-bla-bdag-drug -- name of a mythical royal ancestor, or, according to some, six such ancestors. IV 3

yang -- emphatic particle; see also kyang, gyang, 'ang. I W. 7,30,40,63,66, E. 6,20,35,37,46,65,68; II S. 62, N. 13,23,34,42; III 6,8,10; IV 15,19; V 33; VI 11,16,22, 36; VII W. 12,38,44,59,61, E. 21,38,45; VIII 23,30,33, 37; IX 16,19,28,31,32,37,42,46,48,49,51; XI 3; XII 3; XIII 4,5

yang-dag-pa -- real, true, actual. VII W. 36

yang-dag-par -- real, true, actual (terminative). II N. 62

yang-thag-par -- variant of yang-dag-par. I W. 30

yang -- damaged form of yong (?). I E. 50

yang -- transcription of Chinese 楊 yang (jiang)

Yang u-ling -- 楊於陵 (jiang ?jwo ljəng), name of a person. I S. 27

yangs-pa -- wide, broad, large. VI 14

yan-cad 已西 -- above, in the upper part. I W. 46,52; II N. 15; V 21; VII W. 60; IX 34

yab -- father (respectful term). I E. 34; II S. 8,49; III 11,18; IV 1,20; VII W. 5,7,9; VIII 5; IX 12,23,26,44, 52,56; X 8

yab-myes -- father and grandfather, ancestor. V 1,6; VIII 5; IX 28-29,48

yi-ge 文 -- letter, text, writing; certificate (as an insigne of rank); see also Zhang-lon. I W. 73,77, E. 67; II N. 9,34,37; III 20; V 9,14; VII W. 30,40,52, E. 24, 42,46; IX 27,56

yi-ge = yi-ge'. II N. 32

yi-dam -- a vow. III 12; IX 25,52

yi-dam, see also thugs-

yig = yi-ge -- letters, writing, text. II N. 3; VIII 41; IX 50

yig, see lag-

yid ma-ches-pa 猜阻 -- one who is not believed, one who is suspected. I W. 33

yin(-ba) -- to be (copula); see myi-ma-yin-pa'. I E. 18,33, 38; III 16-17; VII W. 23,28,36, E. 41

yug -- bolt of cloth, silk, etc. II S. 48

yun -- time, a space of time; see 'phral-. V 31; VII W. 18, E. 13

yun-tu -- through the lapse of time, for a long time, for all time. (II S. 72); VII W. 25,41, E. 38; IX 2

yun-du = yun-tu -- for a long time. VI 5

yun ring-por 久遠 -- for a long time (terminative). I W. 21

yun -- transcription of Chinese 尹 yin (jiuen:). I S. 35

yum -- mother (respectful term). VII W. 5,7; X 1

yul 境土,封境 -- country, territory, region, land. I W. 27,29,31,49,58,59, E. 5,7,38,57,61; II S. 45,53, N. 29; IV 4; V 24; VI 43,58; VIII 36

yul myi-mrnam (?) 不相侵謀封境 -- will not invade or seize territory. I W. 32-33

yweng -- transcription of Chinese 穎 ying (jiwäng:). I S. 15

yo-gal ('chos)-pa chen-po -- this is apparently what the Chinese transcribed as 喻寒波掣逋 (jiu- γân puâ tśhjät puo) and explained as 整事大相 cheng-shih ta-hsiang "Great Administrative Minister". The transcription does not show the emended ('chos). II E. 3

yo-byad -- furnishings, necessaries, property. III 7

yog -- transcription of Chinese 谷 (jiwok). I W. 43

yong -- in general, in all, ever before, at all times. IV 8; VIII 35

yongs -- all, whole. V 9,24,32; VI 11,53; IX 37

yod-pa (~-ba) 有 -- to have, there is, there exists. I W. 10,33,49, E. 69, S. 7,10,12, ff; II N. 57; V 15; VII W. 12, E. 29

yon, see sku-

yon-tan -- excellence, achievement; see sku-

Yon[-tan] -- name of a monk. I N. 9

yon-bdag -- donor. XI 10

yos-bu -- hare (calendrical term). I E. 66-67

[g-ya]-g-yo -- right and left. VI 56 (Cf. also I E. 15, Richardson's 1985 version)

g-yu (?). I E. 15

g-yung-drung -- a word or symbol (i.e. the swastika) in the indigenous Tibetan religion, meaning "firm, unbreakable, immutable, eternal". I E. 13; II N. 10,37,46; IV 9; VI 5; VII W. 3,24,40,50, E. 24; XIII 3

g-yul -- army. II S. 60-61

g-yul bzlog -- to repulse an enemy attack. II S. 60

R

ra-ba -- the first month of a season. I E. 59

Ra-sa -- an old name for Lhasa. III 1; IX 5

ran-pa -- proportionate, just right. VII E. 9

rab -- ford. II S. 59

rab -- superior, excellent

rab-tu -- very. VI 47,48

rab-du byung-ba -- perfective of rab-du 'byung-ba -- to take religious orders, enter the Buddhist priesthood. IX 43

rabs -- generation; see also rgyal-, rgyud-, gdung-, ya-. I W. (9),56, E. 42; II N. 12; III 10; IV 4; VII E. 41

rabs-khrir -- ten-thousand generations (terminative). I E. 56

rabs-chad -- childless, without issue (< lineage cut off). II N. 28,33; IV 16; VII W. 43

ral -- to be torn, damaged, destroyed. XIII 4

rigs -- nation, tribe, race. (VII F. 8)

rigs-pa -- right, proper, suitable. VII E. 20

ring -- long (of time). I W. 21

ring-lugs -- a type of official, perhaps a sort of commissioner or notary. VII W. 59,62

-- customs of long standing, a doctrine; a sect, religious order, school, (hence perhaps:) a member or follower of an order or school. VIII 42; IX 40,41

ring -- long (of space); far, distant. II N. 54

ring -- time, lifetime; see also sku-. II S. 2,21; IV 1,12; VII E. 12; IX 1,5,8,10,13,16,23,49,56; XIII 4

ring-por, see yon

rings -- a form of ring -- long; see also rdo-. I W. 11, E. 4,65,67,68,70; II N. 3

glo-ba rings -- to be disloyal. II S. 7,15,18, N. 62

glo-ba ma-rings -- to be not disloyal. II N. 22,59

snying-rings -- disloyal. VII W. 38

Rin-cen -- Tibetan name of a Chinese monk (original name perhaps Ta-pao 大寶). XI 12

rim-gro -- honor, homage, reverence, respect; offerings, sacrificial ceremonies; see also sku-. XIII 4

ris -- part, region, quarter; see lha-, rkyen-. (VII E. 31); VIII 28,30,32

ru -- terminative particle; cf. tu, du, su. VI 25,26

rug, see Mu-

rung -- fit, suitable, right, proper. I E. 50; II S. 52, N. 23; IV 19; (VII E. 29); IX 32,49

rus, see mying

re -- each. II N. 13

re-re -- distributive plural of re -- each. III 10; IX 51

-ro -- finite verb ending; see also -go, -ngo, -to, -do, -ro, -so, -'o. III 20; IX 55

ro (盧 luo) -- part of a name; see Cog-ro. I N. 28

rlag-pa -- to be destroyed, ruined, lost (variant of rlog-pa). IV 15; VII W. 41

rlabs -- (wave:) influence, charisma. VI 9

rlabs-po-che -- a great wave; like a great wave, to a high degree, of great strength or breadth. V 27-28

L

la -- a pass

la-rgyud -- a chain of passes along a mountain range. V 21

la -- oblique particle (sometimes called dative, accusative, etc.). I W. (11),19,20,22,43,63,69,70,75, E. 4,24,27, 35,50,59,60,63,64,65,67,68,70, N. 2,3,5,7,8,28; S. 2,3, 5,7,10,12,14,17; II E. 12,15, S. 9,12,22,29,40,51,73, N. 3,8,18,24,25,55,56,64; IV 2,5,7,12,13,20; V 10,27, 29,31; VI 12,44; VII W. 6,28,31,38,39,44,52,61, E. 12, 17,23,28,29,31,39,43,46, F. 2; VIII 3,5,12,26,29,35,44,

55,58; IX 2,5,8,10,13,16,23,28,31,42,49,56; X 3; XI 1, 9; XIII 1,4; XIV 2

la-stsogs-pa -- and so forth; see also las-stsogs-pa. I E. 15

la-la-zhig -- someone. II N. 28,56,61; VII W. 37

lag -- hand. II N. 33,51; VII W. 61

lag-yig-du bris-te 親署姓名 -- to sign (< to inscribe in the form of a signature). I W. 76

lag, see gtsug-

lags -- to be (honorific copula). VI 59

Lang -- a clan name. II S. 5,15,18

lang -- transcription of Chinese 郎 lang (lâng). I E. 26, S. 6,9,13,42

lan -- return, retribution, retaliation. I W. 69; VII W. 23, E. 19

lan-du -- in return (terminative). I W. 69

lam -- road. I W. 40

lam, see smon-

la' -- variant of la -- oblique particle. II S. 2,42; IV 1, 7

la'u -- transcription of Chinese 老 lao (lâu:). I S. 43

las -- action, deed, work; see also phrin-. VI 16; VII W. 8,15,17, E. 14; IX 42,52

las -- ablative particle. I W. 31, E. 8,29,34,44; II S. 7, 14,31, N. 14,25,27,44,49, III 8,12,15; IV 3,12,14,15, 19; V 28; VI 2,52,58; VII W. 21,30,31,35,36,56, E. 7,9, 32,42,43, F. 5; VIII 9; IX 35,38,39,40,50,52,53

las-stsogs -- and so forth, and others. II S. 35,64, N. 52; VI 55

las-stsogs-te -- and so forth (gerundive). VII W. 9, 14,45, E. 33; IX 31-32

las-stsogs-pa -- and so forth; see also la-stsogs-pa. V 13; VII W. 43, E. 27, F. 7; VIII 20,30,36-37; IX 6,8,13-14,17,18,26

las-stsogs-par -- and so forth (terminative). III 2-3

las-stsogs-pas -- and so forth (instrumental/agentive). VII W. 30

las-stsogs-pha -- variant of las-stsogs-pa. XIII 3

las-sna -- post, appointment, position. VII W. 41

li -- transcription of Chinese 吏 li (ljï-)

li-bo -- 吏部 (ljï- buo), Board of Civil Service. I S. 24-25

li -- transcription of Chinese 李 li (ljï:). I E. 21

Li k'ang -- 李綱 (ljï: kång-), name of a person. I S. 25

ling -- transcription of Chinese 陵 ling (ljəng). I S. 27

li'u -- transcription of Chinese 劉 liu (ljəu)

Li'u 'gwan-teng -- 劉元鼎 (ljəu ngjwən tieng:), name of a person. I S. 41

Li'u shi-la'u -- 劉師老 (ljəu ṣi lâu:), name of a person. I S. 43

li'u -- transcription of Chinese 柳 liu (ljəu:)

Li'u kong-cag -- 柳公綽 (ljəu: kung tśhjak), name of a person. I S. 36

lugs -- custom, way, manner; see also ring-. I W. 41,48, E. 52; V 3,6; VI 2,7,10; VII W. 22; VIII 42

lung, see bka'-

lung -- transcription of Chinese 龍 lung (ljwong). I E. 27

lungs, see Stod-

legs (歷 liek), I N. 40

legs-pa -- good. I W. 16,21, E. 48; II E. 15, S. 44; VI 10; VII W. 6,8,13,14,18, E. 13; IX 20,31

le'i, l'e'i -- transcription of Chinese 吏 li (liei:)

le'i-b'o, l'e'i-bo -- 吏部 (liei: buo:), Board of Rites. I S. 28,33

lo -- year. I E. 21,24,27,58,59,62,63,65-67; II S. 47; VII E. 22; XIV 4,5

lo-rgyus -- annal, chronicle; history, story, account. VIII 3

lo -- finite verb ending; see also to, do, no, 'o, ro, so, go, ngo. VI 44,53

Lo-snang -- name of a person, father of Lde-sman Lde'u-cung. XIII 2,5

log -- transcription of Chinese 祿 lu (luk). I S. 20,26, 30,37

logs -- side, direction. I E. 19

Long-shan -- transcription of Chinese 隴山 Lung-shan (ljwong ṣăn), name of a mountain. V 20-21

lon -- to pass, elapse (i.e. time). I E. 22

lon, see zhang-

sha-khon = sha-kon ~ sha-'khon -- hatred, resentment, grudge. II N. 56

Sha-khyi -- name of a person. IV 5

shang -- transcription of Chinese 常 ch'ang (źjang). I S. 31

shan -- difference, distinction, determination. XIII 6

shar -- east. V 22

shar-pa -- to rise. I E. 19

shar-phyogs -- east, the east side. I W. 28, E. 18,61

shi -- transcription of Chinese 史 shih (ṣï:). I S. 22, 35,40,43

shi -- transcription of Chinese 師 shih (ṣi). I S. 43

shig -- imperative particle. VII W. 31, E. 44

shig, see 'ba'-

shing -- wood

shing-pho-stag -- Male-Wood-Tiger (calendrical term). XIV 5

shing -- gerundive particle; cf. cing, zhing. I W. 8,53, E. 17,35,41,53; II S. 68; IV 10; VI 53; VII W. 7,18, E. 10; VIII 26,33; IX 6,30,45

shing -- transcription of Chinese 丞 ch'eng (źjeng). I S. 22,43

shing -- transcription of Chinese 城 ch'eng (źjäng). I E. 28

shin -- transcription of Chinese 神 shen (dźjen). I E. 26,40

sh'i'u -- transcription of Chinese 守 shou (śjəu:). I S. 28

shis, see bkra-

shu -- transcription of Chinese 書 shu (śjwo). I S. 9,11, 13,16,20,24,25,26,28,31,33,38,42

shu -- transcription of Chinese 水 shui (świ:). I W. 45

she-dag-du -- merely, only. I E. 48

Sheg-sang-si'i -- name of a temple (genitive). I E. 57

sheng -- transcription of Chinese 成 ch'eng (źjäng). I E. 24

sheng -- transcription of Chinese 聖 sheng (śjäng-). I E. 23

Sheng-b'un shin-b'u hwang-te --聖文神武皇帝 (śjäng-mjuən dźjen mju ɣwâng tiei-), title of a T'ang emperor. I E. 26

shen, see Sag-

she'i, see keng-

shes(-pa) 知 -- to know. I W. 8; VI 11,53; VII W. 25

shod -- down, downwards, below. VI 59

gshegs(-pa) -- to come, go. I E. 8; II S. 10; IV 4,6; V 2; VI 2,58; VII F. 2

bshags 稽告 -- perfective of gshog-pa -- to make known, explain, declare. I W. 72

bshad 契陳 -- perfective of 'chad-pa -- to explain, declare. I W. 65

bshig-pa 破盟 -- to destroy; violate (a treaty). I W. 68,70

bshes-nyen = bshes-gnyen -- friend; see dge-ba. IX 36,43

bshos-pa -- perfect of bsho-ba -- to lie with, have sexual intercourse with; to beget. IV 6

S

sa -- land, earth, place; see also 'dun-. I E. 5,7,21,61; V 8; VII F. 2; VIII 59

sa-khyon -- land area, territory. VI 48

sa-tshigs -- post station, relay station, the stage to which loads, etc. must be delivered. IV 19

sa-mtshams -- border, frontier. I W. 52

sa-mtshams srung-ba'i myi 封人 -- people guarding the frontier. I W. 52

sa-sa mal-mal 鄉土 -- every country and quarter (distributive plurals of sa and mal). I W. 54

Sag-shen -- name of a person. XIV 8

sang, see deng-, Sheg-

Sangs-rgyas -- Buddha. III 4-5; IX 5,19,24,30

san -- transcription of Chinese 散 san (sân-). I S. 47

sam -- alternative and interrogative particle; cf. also gam, tam, dam, 'am. I W. 67; VII W. 38

sam -- transcription of Chinese 三 san (sâm)

Sam lang -- 三郎 (sâm lâng). I E. 26

si'i -- transcription of Chinese 寺 ssu (zï-) (genitive). I E. 57

s'i -- transcription of Chinese 司 ssu (sï-). I S. 42

sing -- transcription of Chinese 僧 seng (seng). I S. 23

su -- who, whosoever. I W. 27; II N. 42; VII E. 29; IX 33

su -- terminative particle; cf. tu, du, ru. I W. 9, E. 53; II S. 30,33,45,60, N. 49; V 11; VI 10; VII W. 8,11,16, 18,19, E. 13,15,(31),48, F. 8; VIII 7,10; IX 36,44,46, 50

suci = su + ci. IX 36

sum (心 sjəm) -- part of a name, see Khri-. I N. 10

sum-rgya -- three hundred. II N. 40

[sems] -- meaning unclear, emendation uncertain. II S. 41, 73

sems-can -- sentient beings. XI 8, XIV 2

se'u -- transcription of Chinese 蕭 hsiao (sieu)

Se'u 'b'en -- 蕭俔 (sieu mjän:), name of a person. I S. 17

-so -- finite verb ending; see also -go, -ngo, -to, -do, -'o, -ro, -so; cf. also -'o-chog. I W. 57,66,70, E. 67,70; II E. 16, S. 10,41,74; III 21; V 10,26; VI 59; VII F. 8; IX 31; XI 6,12; XIV 7

so, see khab-, bang-

so'i -- guard, (border) police (genitive). I E. 29

so-so'i -- each, individual, separate (genitive). VI 56

sog -- grassland. II N. 51; VII W. 43

song -- perfective of 'gro-ba -- to go, proceed. II S. 29

son -- fusion of sa-bon -- seed

son-rtsa -- seeds and roots (for planting). XIV 5

sol = gsol (?). XI 6

sol-tshal -- seek after, what is sought (?). XI 6-7

sras -- son; see also dbon-, lha-. II S. 11,16,50, N. 12; III 11,18; IV 1,3,5; VI 1,6,13; VII W. 7,29,59, F. 5; IX 26,44,52; X 2,8

sras-dbon -- sons and grandsons, descendants, progeny (probably honorific for bu-tsha). II N. 12; VII W. 29,59

sri-zhu -- respect, reverence. I W. 23,48, E. 43; VI 57

srid -- government, power, dominion; feudal prerogatives and rights; see also chab-, chu-, srog-. I W. 59, E. 9,21; II E. 14, S. 13,25,67,71; VII W. 24,46; XIII 2

srid chen-po 大業 -- great government. I W. 59

srim -- ?. VI 57

srung(-ba) 守 -- to guard, keep. I W. 27,52

srog -- life. IV 7

srog-chags 牲 -- sacrificial animal. I W. 65

srog-phongs -- life-sparing, life-concern, concern for the preservation of one's life. IV 7

srog-srid -- life and property ? (FKL); life and prerogatives ? (WSC). II N. 23-24,56,64; VII E. 28

srog ... dang srid -- ?. II N. 67

srong -- a component of names; see Khri-. I E. 23,34

sla -- month. I E. 59,63,67; XIV 6

slad -- hind part, back, afterwards

slad-kyis -- (by succeeding upon:) subsequently, afterwards (instrumental). VII E. 3

slad-du -- on account of, for the sake of (terminative). X 4

slan-chad -- later, afterwards, henceforth. IV 18

slar-zhing -- more and more. I E. 12

slebs -- perfective of sleb-pa -- to reach. I W. 57

slong, see dge-

slob -- to teach, to learn. IX 37

gsar -- new. I E. 41; VII E. 24

gsal -- clear, bright. I E. 35

Gsas-sto -- name of a person; either an alternate name of Tshes-pong Stag-bzang Nya-sto or the name of one of his forebears or relatives. VIII 48

Gsas-slebs -- name of a person, the grandfather of Stag-sgra Klu-khong. II N. 43,47

gsung -- sound, voice. X 9

gsung-dbyangs -- melodious sound. X 9

gsum -- three. I W. 62, E. 22,42,66; III 3; VII W. 60, F. 5,6,7; VIII 17; IX 7,9,12,15,17,24,29,45,47,49; X 3

gsol(-ba) 諸為 -- to invoke, call upon, beseech, request, ask; to feed sacrifice to, make offerings to; to report; to call or give a name to. I W. 64; III 18; IV 6,16; V 34; VI 44; VII W. 8,22, E. 8,12,18; IX 54; XIV 8

gsold(-ba) -- variant of gsol-ba. II S. 17,39,55; IV 3,11; VII W. 13, E. 13; IX 33

bsad 刑 -- perfective of gsod-pa -- to kill. I W. 65

bsab-pa -- perfective of gsob-pa -- to pay, repay. VIII 13

bsam -- thought. XIV 3

bsam -- perhaps a variant of bsams, perfective of sem-pa -- to think, muse, ponder. VI 15

Bsam-yas -- name of a place, site of a famous temple. IX 13

bsald -- perfective of sel-ba -- to remove, clear away. I E. 41

bsod-nams -- merit, puṇya. VI 48-49,51; X 5-6

bsring-ba -- future of sring-ba -- to extend, stretch. IV 19

bsris -- perfective of sri-ba -- to retain, maintain. I E. 32

bsrong -- ?. VI 44

bsros -- perfective of sro-ba -- to warm, heat up. XIV 7

bslab -- future of slob-pa -- to teach, to learn. IX 36

bslas -- perfective of sla-ba -- I E. 41

Sshem-ci'ur -- terminative of Sshem-ci'u, transcription of Chinese 陝州 Shan-chou (śjäm: tśjəu), name of a district east of Ch'ang-an. II S. 63

H

ha -- transcription of Chinese 下 hsia (ɣa:). I S. 6

hwang -- transcription of Chinese 皇 huang (ɣwâng)

hwang-te -- 皇帝 (ɣwâng tiei-), emperor; cf. 'wang-te. I W. 3,(14), E. (2),23,26,40,54

han -- transcription of Chinese 韓 han (ɣân)

Han ka'u -- 韓皐 (ɣân kâu), name of a person. I S. 21

hywan -- transcription of Chinese 縣 hsien (ɣiwen:). I W. 45

hab 合 (ɣập) -- part of a name. I N. 34

he'u -- transcription of Chinese 孝 hsiao (xau-). I W. 14, E. 1,54; II S. 46,49

He'u 'gi 'wang-te -- title of a Chinese emperor. However, no emperor of this name is known from this period. Perhaps it is a mistake for He'u-kam hwang-te 孝感皇帝 Hsiao-kan huang-ti (xau- kậm: ɣwâng tiei-), the title of Su-tsung 肅宗 (r. 756-762). II S. 46-7, 49-50

ho -- transcription of Chinese 戶 hu (ɣuo:)

ho-bo (b'o) -- 戶部 (ɣuo: buo:), Board of Finance. I S. 13,26

Hong-pen -- transcription of Chinese 洪辯 Hung-pien (ɣung bjän:), name of a prominent monk in Tun-huang. XIV 3

Hor -- a Turkic people (see Ligeti 1971:175-176; also Szerb 1981:376-7, n. 13 and 381, n. 52). VI (40),43

lha -- god; see also 'phrul. I E. 8,52; III 16; IV 1,5,7,9; V 1,5,7,16,33; VI 1,2,6,7,13; VII W. 1, E. 1,31, F. 5; VIII 19; IX 1,4,15,22,54; X 7; XI 1,3; XIII 6; XIV 1

lha-cha -- sacred utensils or vessels, paraphernalia of a religious establishment. VIII 19

lha-'phrul -- divine incarnation (FKL); god of supernatural qualities (WSC). I E. 34; VI 13,22,50

lha-myi 神人 -- gods and men. I W. 8

lha-ris -- the spiritual (as opposed to temporal) estate, the ecclesiastical estate, those who have taken monastic vows. VII E. 31; VIII 28,30; IX 50

Lha-sa'i -- name of a palace (genitive); see pho-brang. I E. 61

lha-sras -- Son of the Gods (a royal epithet). IV 7,8, 12,13,19,20; VIII 5,11; XIII 1

Lha-ji -- a proper name (?). VII F. 5

Lha-ri-gyang-dor -- name of a mountain (terminative). IV 4

lha (他 thâ, 貪 thậm) -- an element in names. I N. 21,38

lhag-par -- more, to a further extent, surpassing, superior. I E. 38; VI 52; VII W. 19

lhab -- wide, broad. VII W. 1

lho (土 thuo:) -- an element in names. I N. 29

lho -- south. V 22; VI 43

lho-phyogs -- the south. I E. 13

Lho-bal -- name of a people, perhaps = "barbarians"; see notes to Text I). I E. 19

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u -- transcription of Chinese 於 yü (?jwo). I S. 27